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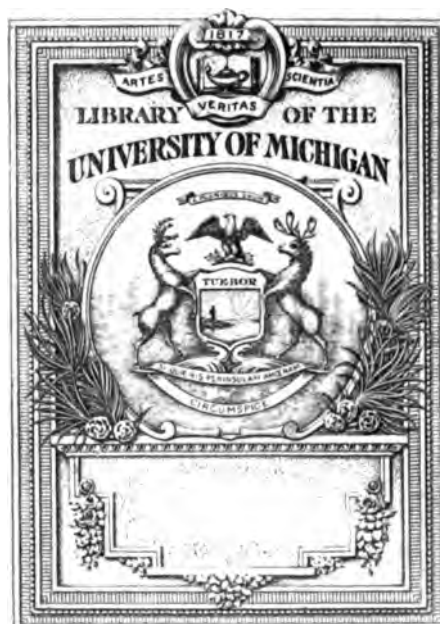
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TOHFUT-UL-MUJAHIDEEN,

AN

HISTORICAL WORK

[The first settlement of Mohammedans
in Malabar]

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LIEUT. M. J. ROWLANDSON,

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SOLD BY

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET;
AND PARBURY, ALLEN, & CO., LEADENHALL STREET.

M.DCCC.XXXIII.

LONDON:
Printed by J. L. COX and SON, 75, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

LONDON:
COX AND SON, 75, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

Minor Range
Hefin
11.22.32
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.



OF Sheikh Zeen-ud-deen, the author of the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen, but little appears known. From that work we learn, that he lived in the reign of Sultan Alee-adil Shah, the fifth sovereign of the Adil-Shahy dynasty of Bejapoor; whilst, from his title of "Al-maburee,"* it may be concluded that he was a descendant of one of the original emigrants from Arabia; but, beyond these points, no information regarding him appears to exist. Ferishta, the only author from whom any account of him might be expected, in stating, that the brief account of Malabar,†

* "One passed over, an emigrant."

† This account, written in the Persian language, was some years ago translated into English by Mr. Anderson, and lately by Colonel Briggs, in his improved version of Ferishta's General History. It consists chiefly of extracts from that part of the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen which relates to the propagation of the Mahomedan

to be found in his general History of Hindustan, was chiefly taken from the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen, is altogether silent upon the subject of the authorship of that work; a silence remarkable, when it is considered that Sheikh Zeen-ud-deen and himself must have been cotemporary historians, or nearly so; and at the same court, as his (Ferishta's) introduction at the court of Bejapoor took place, according to his own account, in the year of the Hejira 998, or ten years only after the assassination* of Alee-adil Shah, to whom the Sheikh Zein-ud-deen dedicated the original of this translation.

In this selection of his patron, the author of the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen was induced, he tells us, by the unwearied zeal and activity

Mahomedan religion in Malabar, and of a brief summary of the historical part of that work; but, as the whole chapter (of Ferishta) does not exceed twelve pages, this last is necessarily very imperfect; whilst, to the existence even of a considerable portion of the work, the Persian historian has made no allusion.

* A.D. 1579. He was assassinated by an eunuch, under circumstances which, for many years, were considered mysterious, but which are now sufficiently well known to reflect much infamy upon Alee-adil Shah's memory.

which Alee-adil Shah had displayed* in warring against infidels, to excite his Mahomedan brethren generally, but more particularly those in power, to a more vigorous resistance of the Christian heretics, who had invaded the possessions of the faithful in the countries of Malabar, constituting his avowed object in the compilation of his narrative.

That these Christian infidels, although described by the Sheikh under the general title of "Al-Afrunj," or the Franks, were the Portuguese, it is hardly necessary to remark. That he was not, however, more particular in his denomination of these deadly enemies of his race (as he would have them) it is hard to imagine, if the fact that, although Abulfeda,† in his Universal History (written in the

* The author may be supposed here chiefly to allude to the share which Alee-adil took in the destruction of Ramraj, the Ray of Beejanuggur, in the year 1565. His alliance, however, with that infidel and unfortunate chieftain, only a few years before, against a Moslem prince (Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur), the Sheikh would appear either to have forgiven or forgotten.

† M. Bayle has charged the learned Pococke with having been guilty of an anachronism regarding the succession of this author (Ismael Aabulfeda) to the principality of Hamah in

fourteenth century), is found to distinguish Richard Cœur de Lion by the title of "Al-Inkitar," or, the Englishman; yet that this title (like those of Al-Andaloos and Al-Afransawee, for the Spaniard and the Frenchman) has only of late years become familiar amongst the Mahomedans of India, who formerly applied to the English, French, and Portuguese, indiscriminately, the title of "Al-Afrunj"—shall not be considered to account for it.

With a view to throw light upon what follows, the author has prefixed to his narrative of the earlier proceedings of the Portuguese in Malabar three introductory chapters. In the first of these, he recounts the

Syria. Gagnier, however, in his preface to his Latin version of Abulfeda's life of Mahomed (published at Oxford in the early part of the last century) successfully controverts this charge; at the same time that he passes the following just encomium upon that distinguished Orientalist: "Bona verba mi Bayli, ne tam cito de tanto viro iniquum feras judicium, ut falsi reum peragas. Non is fuit magnus Edwardus Pocockius qui tam facile posset falli ut alios in errorem induceret. Erat vir integerrimus et solide doctus; et quamvis obiter, et quasi, aliud agens, nihilominus tamen verissime pronunciavit hæc verba," &c.—Prefatio, p. v.

several commands of Mahomed to his followers to exterminate infidelity; dilating also upon the meritorious nature and ultimate reward of that act of religious duty. Here the Sheikh, after the manner of Peter the Hermit (his object, however, being directly opposed to that which animated the wandering preacher of the Crusades), would endeavour to excite his brethren to a holy war against the infidel intruders—the cursed “Franks.” The second chapter purports to be an account of the first dissemination of the Mahomedan religion in Malabar. In the third, the author would describe the singular usages and customs which distinguish the Nairs and other inhabitants of that country.

With this introduction, the account of the proceedings of the Portuguese is commenced from the time of their first arrival in Malabar (which event is fixed by the author of the *Tohfut-ul-mujahideen* in the middle of the year of the Hijra 904*), and is conti-

A.D. 1498.

* Here agreeing entirely with the Portuguese accounts of the arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut, in May 1498.

A.D. 1579. nued up to the Mahomedan year 985;* the narrative thus embracing a period of between eighty and ninety years. That the Sheikh is not here upon untrodden ground will be obvious. The actions of De Gama, the great Portuguese navigator, who ranks only second to his greater cotemporary Columbus, have been immortalized by his countryman Camoens ("Le Virgile des Portugais," as Voltaire has styled him), in his poem of "Os Lusiades, or The Lusiad," a poem familiar to the English reader, by the elegant version of Mickle; whilst, in the Portuguese histories of Maffeus, Asorius, Barros, and Faria-y-Souza, the exploits of Cabral, Albuquerque, Almeida, and their successors in India, have been celebrated with great diffuseness. It is creditable to the Sheikh,

* In what may be considered as a postscript to the work, some account of the condition of the Portuguese in Malabar, up to the year 1581, has been given. As this last date, however, is two years after the assassination of Alee-adil Shah (to whom the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen is dedicated), the translator must conclude that this is not from the pen of Sheikh Zein-ud-deen; as, had it been added by him subsequently, he could hardly have avoided some allusion to that event.

that the testimony of these authors establishes the fidelity of his narrative; since, besides a very minute and extraordinary agreement, on many minor points of detail, in the relation of leading events, it is seldom found much at variance with their accounts. In the voluminous work of Maffeus,* written under royal authority, and expressly “celebrare domestica facta,” this agreement is more particularly remarkable, as will be seen by the quotations from that writer which will be met with in the historical or latter part of this translation.

Intruders themselves, the Mahomedans naturally regarded the Portuguese, who came in a like character, with feelings of jealousy and distrust; and from the Portuguese histories we find, that De Gama and his successors early entertained a no common degree of animosity and dislike towards these “Saracens,” as they termed them. Under

* Ioan. Petri Maffei, Bergomatis, Societate Iesu, *Historiarum Indicarum*, libri xvi. *Selectarum*, item, ex *Indiæ Epistolarum* eodem interprete, libri iv.—*Coloniæ Agrippinæ*, in officina Birkmanica, sumptibus Arnoldi Mylii. — Anno MDLXXXIX.—Cum gratia et privilegio S. Cæsareæ Maiestatis.

these circumstances, it is not to be expected that, in judging of the motives which actuated the actions of their respective countrymen, the Mahomedan and his Catholic cotemporaries should much agree. It must be confessed that they do not; and more, that were it not for the evidence to his credibility above alluded to, which secures him from such a charge, the Sheikh, from his frequent and hearty imprecations of evil upon "these " cursed Franks" (as he styles them), might have been suspected of having mixed up his feelings with his narrative, to the prejudice of its truth. Upon the subject of this want of courtesey, on the part of our author, if any apology can be admissible for such an offence in one setting himself up for an historian, it may be remarked, that the furious and persecuting spirit which the Portuguese invariably displayed throughout their Indian rule, was felt by no class of men more severely than the Mahomedan merchants of Malabar; and, further, that the cruelties ascribed by him to the Portuguese, fall far short of the atrocious acts which writers of their own country and religion have admitted as justly

chargeable to them. The translator would here particularly refer to the account, by Monsieur Dillon, of the Inquisition of Goa (written about one hundred and fifty years ago), where a picture is drawn of that diabolical institution much more highly coloured than the Sheikh's description of that "house of darkness and stench," the terms which he uses when speaking of it. In the work of Fra Paolino,* also, no attempt has been made to conceal or deny the barbarities practised by his countrymen in the East. As on this point, therefore (one on which he might have been expected to exaggerate), the Sheikh appears to have been guilty of no exaggeration, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that

* *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, umiliato alle santità di N. S. Papa Pio sesto Pontefice Massimo, da Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, Carmelitano, Scalzo. Roma, presso Antonio Fulgoni, l'anno MDXXXCVI.*

It was this author to whom Sir W. Jones applied the term of "*Homo trium literarum*," in consequence of his having disputed the opinion of Sir William that the "*Veda*," or book of laws of the Hindoos, was written one thousand years B.C. Paolino retorted, by calling him "*Homo unius literæ*." So far, says his learned German translator (Dr. Forster), the champions were upon a level!

in general his account of the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Portuguese whilst in Malabar, is not overdrawn. It would be inexcusable in the translator to lengthen farther his remarks upon so inconsiderable a performance, and he will therefore only add the expression of his hopes, that the inelegancies of language and style, which have been inseparable from a close adherence to his author (his object having been to give a literal and faithful version), will be overlooked: also, of his acknowledgments to the gentleman* by whose kindness he became possessed of the original MS.; and to Mr. J. Lushington, the secretary of the Madras Auxiliary Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, whose readiness to assist persons engaged in works of the description now offered, keeps pace with his ability to do it, and to whom the translator was indebted, besides the loan of a copy, for much valuable information regarding the original of this translation.

* The Hon. W. Oliver, member of council, Fort. St. George

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE ALL MERCIFUL
AND ALL COMPASSIONATE!

ALL praise and thanksgiving be ascribed to God! who, in revealing the religion of Islamism, exalted it above all other creeds, having blessed with his divine favour all who have embraced it, from the early ages until now.* And blessing and peace to his Prophet (he who is the true way to that faith which shall endure for ever!) and upon his posterity and companions,† on all of them! for the Lord (hallowed be his name) has mercifully distinguished his servants, having vouchsafed to them discrimination, judgment, and wisdom; and

* With a view of conveying to the English reader some idea of the style of the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen, the translator, in rendering into English these introductory pages of his author, has left the construction of the sentences entirely as they are found in the original Arabic.

† Although the author would here establish his orthodoxy, by including the "Sahibeh," or the three first khalifs, Omar, Aboobukur, and Othman, in his benedictions, yet from the
tenets

these circumstances, it is not to be expected that, in judging of the motives which actuated the actions of their respective countrymen, the Mahomedan and his Catholic cotemporaries should much agree. It must be confessed that they do not; and more, that were it not for the evidence to his credibility above alluded to, which secures him from such a charge, the Sheikh, from his frequent and hearty imprecations of evil upon "these " cursed Franks" (as he styles them), might have been suspected of having mixed up his feelings with his narrative, to the prejudice of its truth. Upon the subject of this want of courtesey, on the part of our author, if any apology can be admissible for such an offence in one setting himself up for an historian, it may be remarked, that the furious and persecuting spirit which the Portuguese invariably displayed throughout their Indian rule, was felt by no class of men more severely than the Mahomedan merchants of Malabar; and, further, that the cruelties ascribed by him to the Portuguese, fall far short of the atrocious acts which writers of their own country and religion have admitted as justly

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multiplied to them all things necessary; having brought to light that which leadeth to salvation and to the attainment of all excellence; further, having sent unto them prophets, who were the bearers of good tidings, and who by exhortation gave knowledge of the Lord, directing in the right way. But, chiefly, are we indebted to the divine goodness, in that we have been born of the race of the choice of his created beings, Mahomed (upon whom may the blessing and peace of God for ever rest!), herein being raised above all nations. The Lord most high hath said, "Ye are the chosen race, selected from among mankind;"* and,

tenets of his patron having been notoriously otherwise (one of the first acts of Alee-aadil Shah, upon his succeeding to the throne of Bejapoor, having been to denounce the Sahibeh, and to adopt the doctrines of the Sheah sect), it seems justly subject to some suspicion.

During the life-time of his father Ibrahim-aadil Shah, his son Alee (Ferishta tells us) discovered his attachment to the tenets of Abu-Talib. The Sheikh therefore, it must be concluded, was either a very tolerant Soonnee (the orthodox sect), or what perhaps is more probable, himself one of those who held heterodox opinions regarding the ^{سنة} Soonnah, or Book of the prophet's traditions.

* Koran, Soorah عمران "Imran" (or the third chapter), a name which Mahomed has given to the father of the Virgin Mary. In this chapter an account is given of the birth of Jesus Christ

declared the prophet of God (with whom may the divine favour ever dwell!) "I am a prince of the
" race of Adam, and the most exalted."*

And, if it be true that he (on whom be peace!) was the lord of the posterity of Adam, it follows that he was super-excellent above the whole, and the super-excellence of his descendants is a consequence of the super-excellence of himself.

Further, the Imam-Ahmud† has related, upon the authority of Al-Mikdad‡ (on whom be peace!)

Christ and of John the Baptist, very similar to that recorded by the Evangelists. As usual, however, Mahomed is not contented with relating the matter as he found it, but is guilty of one of his blasphemous and childish interpolations, in which he causes our Saviour to animate a bird that he had made of clay.

* This is a quotation from the صحيح بخاري Soheih Bukharee, a collection of traditions regarding Mahomed, very similar to the صحيح مسلم "Soheih Moosellim."

† Or Al-Ghazali, one of the most celebrated of the commentators upon the Koran. He was born in the year of the Hejira 450, or A.D. 1060. In consequence of his great repute for learning, he was styled امام العالم Imam-al-allum, the Imam of the world. His chief work was احيا علوم الدين "Ahia aloom-ad-deen," or a disquisition upon the sciences connected with religion.

‡ One of the associates of Mahomed. The last chapter but one (or the LXXII) of Abulfeda's life of the Impostor, contains a full account of these "Prophetæ comites," as the learned

that he heard the prophet (for ever blessed) to exclaim: "There shall not remain a dwelling in the city, or on the plain, on which the Lord shall not cause to descend the word of Islamism, which shall dignify him already righteous, and condemn him who lives in sin, to the salvation of the one, and the everlasting ruin of the other." For those whom "God would exalt, will he make of the number of true believers, whilst those whose destruction has been pre-determined, shall seal it by rejecting this holy faith, which indeed," said I, "has God for its author and its end." Now be it known, that

learned Gagnier styles them, to set at rest the question, who should be considered as companions قد اختلف الناس فيمن ; يسأحق ان يطلق عليه صحابي for (says he) now truly it is a subject of controversy amongst men to whom that title is due. Abulfeda would divide them into thirteen classes; the first class consisting of Allee, Zeid, and those who first embraced Mahomed's doctrines. Those that follow are, with a few exceptions, classed according to the importance of their services in the prophet's cause. In modern days, however, Mahomedans divide the prophet's associates into two great classes; 1st. The الانصار *Al Ansar* (the aiders); or, as Gagnier describes them, "Adjutores qui Mahomedis partes simul cum Islamismo primi Medinensium amplexi fuere." 2d. المهاجرين *Al Muhajerein*, "those who fled," or, "Mahomedis, fugæ comites," being those who accompanied Mahomed in his flight into Abyssinia.

the Lord most high hath willed, that the faith of Islamism should flourish throughout the chief of the inhabited regions of the earth ; in some countries making the sword and compulsion the means of its dissemination, in others preaching and exhortation. But he mercifully ordained, that the people of Malabar, beyond the other nations of India, should evince a ready and willing acceptance of this holy creed ; their profession of it being void of monastic guile and free from distrust. The occasion of their conversion was as follows : A company of Moslems having emigrated to certain ports of Malabar,* and subsequently there taken up their dwelling, the population by degrees became proselytes to the religion of God ; and Islamism shedding abroad its divine lustre, the number of its professors became increased. And these, building cities for themselves in that quarter, and abstaining from all oppression towards the idolatrous populace, and from any interference

* The emigrants from Arabia in the reign of Hijaj-Ben-Yoosuff, A.D. 710. These, who at this time, under the Caliph Valid, established themselves in Malabar, may be considered the ancestors of the Mahomedans of southern India, who are in this day commonly called Moors; whilst the Patans, or Afghans (according to Garber and Dr. Reineggs), are a branch of the Albanians, from Mount Caucasus.

with them in the exercise of their ancient customs (under the divine protection), lived in happiness and prosperity. Enjoying this prosperity for a season, but having by infidelity forfeited the favour of the Almighty, and rebelled against, and set themselves at variance to the Divine authority, God raised up against them the nations of Europe, the Franks—whom may the Most High eternally confound! And these beginning to oppress and commit hostilities against the Mahomedans, their tyrannical and injurious usage* proceeded to a length that was the occasion of a general confusion and distraction amongst the population of the country. This continued for a long period,

* The excesses of the Portuguese will be found detailed at length in the historical, or latter part of this work. They have formed a subject for the pens of writers of all nations; amongst others, the great English dramatist, Cumberland:

“ With avarice and ambition fir’d,
Eager alike for plunder and for fame,
Onward they press to spring upon their prey.
There every spoil obtained, with greedy haste
By force or fraud could ravish from the hands
Of nature’s peaceful sons, again they mount
Their richly frightened bark. She, while the cries
Of widows and of orphans rend the strand,
Striding the billows, to the venal winds
Spreads her broad vans, and flies before the gale.”
Historical Fragments.

for nearly eighty years, when the affairs of the Moslems had arrived at the last stage of decay, ruin, poverty, and wretchedness; since, whilst they were too ill practised in deceit to dissemble an obedience which was not sincere, they neither possessed the power to repel, nor means to evade, the evils that afflicted them. Nor did the Mahomedan princes and chieftains who were possessed of large armies, and who had at their command great military resources, at all come forward for their deliverance, or bestow any of their wealth in so holy a cause as in the resistance of these tyrant infidels; seeing that, for the most part, they were indifferent towards the interests of their religion,* and unwilling to barter their worldly wealth for an eternal reward. For this cause, therefore, have I compiled this narrative; having in view, the arousing of the faithful to engage in a holy warfare against the worshippers of crucifixes, that

* It would seem from the histories of the courts of Bejapoor, Ahmednuggur, and Golcondah (to which courts the Sheikh here would chiefly allude), that at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India, these powers were too much occupied in their own intrigues and quarrels to regard with much interest or concern the proceedings of "a handful of foreign vagabonds," as the historians of that day would describe them. It was not until the year 1570 that Adil Shah made his first (unsuccessful) attempt to recover Goa.

they should engage in it, being a duty of divine command, these infidels having invaded territories inhabited by Mahomedans, and having taken prisoners from amongst them a multitude whose number cannot be computed; having also put many of the faithful to death, and compelled a vast body of them to embrace christianity; and, lastly, made captives of their females, and when bound and in shackles, having violated their persons, in this manner causing christian children to be brought into being, who also have in after time occupied themselves in aggressions and injuries against the faithful, and in tyrannically oppressing them. Now, touching the title of this work, I have styled it "Tohfut-ul-mujahideen,"* or, an offering to warriors who shall fight in defence of religion against infidels;" it being a history of the affairs of the Franks in the countries of Malabar, and recounting their infamous machinations against the religion of Islamism. Fur-

* تحفة المجاهدين "Tohfut-ul-mujahideen." تحفة "Tohfut," a present, offering;" مجاهدين "Mujahideen," plural oblique of مجاهد "Mujahid," active participle of جهاد Jahad, quadrilateral infinitive; he fought against "infidels," holy warfare. D'Herbelot, in his "Bibliothèque Orientale," gives a list of no less than sixty-five Arabic and Persian works to which the title of Tohfut is prefixed.

thermore, I have shewn in this work, the great reward that shall await those who shall engage in hostilities against infidels like these ; having added also, an exhortation to that act of religious duty, and which has been chiefly taken from the sacred writings.

In the Tohfut-ul-mujahideen also will be found some account of the customs that distinguish the Pagans of Malabar. And I have compiled this history as an offering for the gracious acceptance of the most glorious of sultans, and the most beneficent of monarchs, who has made war against infidels the chief act of his life, having himself glorified God, and made his name to be upheld with reverence by all ; having ever devoted himself to the service and protection of the servants of God, and exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal in destroying his enemies, giving animation to the divine faith, and extirpating all who would disseminate heresy in the kingdoms of God. One who is the uniform cherisher of the learned and the good, and the firm protector of the poor and destitute : a prince overruling the destinies and fates of the powerful at all times and seasons ; who, notwithstanding his youth has arrived at the highest dignities, and notwithstanding the machinations of his enemies, to the most permanent honours ;

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Persia or in Arabia. The Imam to whose virtuous qualities Khāfee Khan* has given his testimony ; in whose service the powerful willingly enlist themselves, perceiving his innate estimation for men of virtue and probity, and that, on account of their observance of the law, he bestowing upon them both dignities and honour. May God, most high, ever perpetuate throughout the world his graces and integrity, by prolonging his life, and by granting mankind to enjoy the benefit of their exercise, through the blessing of Mahomed and his posterity ! To conclude, the work is divided into four chapters. The first, treating of certain divine commands, wherein war against infidels is enjoined, and also of the future reward that awaits those who shall engage in it, being designed as an exhortation to arms in this cause. The second, of the early promulgation of Islamism in the countries of Malabar. The third, of the most singular of the customs of the Pagans of Malabar. The fourth, of the arrival of the Franks in the countries of Malabar ; relating also certain of their detestable acts there. And this chapter is again divided into sections. The first of these giving an account of the earliest appearance of the Franks in Malabar, and of the hostility that arose between them

* Writer of a voluminous history in the Persian language.

and the Moslems and the Samree;* also of their conciliating the Rajahs of Kushee† and Kuzangaloor,‡ and erecting forts at those places and at Kolum;§ lastly, of their seizure of the fort of Goa. The second section contains a narrative of certain of their infamous proceedings. The third, an account of their treaty with the Zamorin, and of their proceeding to construct fortifications at Calicut. The fourth relates the differences that shortly after took place between them and the Zamorin, and gives an account of the capture of the forts which

* This chief, who is called Zamorin, or Samorin, by Europeans (not with much propriety, however, as Fra Paolino observes) was the Rajah of Calicut. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India he was one of the most powerful of the princes of Malabar, having early entered into a league with the Arabs, who had established themselves at Calicut, against his powerful neighbour, the rajah of Cochin, Perampadapil, or "Trimumpara," as Maffeus styles him. That historian, when describing the Zamorin, says of him: "Is rex in primis Indiæ clarus perhibetur, ac potens, quippe quem cæteri ejus tractus Reges principem ac superiorem agnoscunt, et patrio sermone Zamorinum, id est, Imperatorem appellant." The ruling passion of this monarch (according to the Portuguese historians) was avarice. His chief revenue was derived from the traffic of the Moors, and he at first eagerly desired a commercial intercourse with the Portuguese.

† Cochin.

‡ Cranganore.

§ Quilon.

they had built. The fifth is regarding the accommodation that the Franks for the second time entered into with the Zamorin, relating also their building fortifications at Shalleat.* The sixth tells of the third treaty and league entered into between the Franks and the Zamorin. The seventh, of the compact the great Sultan† Bahadar Shah Ben Muzuffur, of Guzerat, entered into with them, and of his delivering over to them many of the principal parts of his kingdom. The eighth, of the arrival of the Pashaw Soliman, vizier of the great sultan Soliman-shah of Room,‡ both now no more (peace to their spirits), at Diu,§ and in its vicinity; and of the return of the former to Egypt, he having been unsuccessful in the object of his expedition. The ninth recounts the treaty between the Franks and the Zamorin, entered into for the fourth time. The tenth, the differences which again fell out between the Franks and the Zamorin. The eleventh, the treaty entered into between the Franks and the Zamorin for the fifth time. The twelfth, the occasion of a renewal of hostilities

* Or Jaleeat, as Ferishta calls it.

† The eighth in succession of the kings of Guzerat. He was killed in an affray with the Portuguese, A.D. 1537.

‡ The Turkish empire, or Ottoman power.

§ An island off the southern extremity of the province of Guzerat.

between the Zamorin and the Franks; giving an account, also, of the sailing forth of a fleet of grabs (belonging to that chief) to attack them. The thirteenth relates the capture of the fort of Shaleeat; God having succoured Islamism and the Moslems, and having glorified his religion for the sake of Mahomed and his posterity. Finally, the fourteenth section describes the position of the affairs of the Franks after the capture of this fort, their earnest desire and great efforts for the subversion of the religion of Islamism, and the ruin of the Mahomedans in the countries of Malabar.

TOHFUT-UL-MUJAHIDEEN.

CHAP. I.

Regarding certain divine commands, wherein war against infidels is enjoined. Treating, also, of the reward that shall await that act of religious duty, and being designed as an exhortation to it.*

Know then, that infidels shall be regarded in two distinct points of view. And first : those who

* These are chiefly extracted from the Koran. The author of a work published at Vienna about fifty years ago, and entitled "De fatis Linguarum Orientalium," when speaking of the matchless style of that extraordinary work as an Arabic composition, quotes the following opinion of Sir William Jones regarding its writer's talents: "Fuit certe, quisquis Alcoranum" "contextuit, cum admirabili præditus ingenio, tum acutissimus" "et dicendi, et persuadendi artifex." In no point, perhaps, did Mahomed evince the sagacity here alluded to more conspicuously, than when he made immediate admission into Paradise the reward of those who fell (as he would have persuaded them) in the defence of the faith. Had he gone no farther than this, and, to support his imposture, had not had recourse to
the

are dwelling peaceably in their own countries, and against whom if one person only from any party of Moslems shall go forth to war, the divine command on this subject will have been sufficiently observed,* and the remainder of his brethren are not called upon to proceed against them. But should no one be found thus to offer himself as the holy champion of his party, then it becomes the duty of all to arm. Secondly: The case of infi-

the passages which have been justly described as “ad commodos affectus, ad aurium delectationem, et voluptatem” *sensuum accommodatissimum*,” he would have escaped such titles as those of “a base, epileptic person, a villain, and a vicious,” the terms in which the good Jeremy Taylor has somewhat quaintly, but not unjustly, described him. It has been cleverly observed by a modern writer (Colton), that none knew how to draw long bills on futurity that never will be honoured, better than Mahomed. He possessed himself, says he, of a large stock of real and present pleasure and power here, by promising a visionary quantum of those good things to his followers hereafter, and like the maker of an almanack, made his fortune in this world by telling lies about another.

* In the practical theology of the Mahomedans, holy duties and religious acts are considered of two kinds; the first being styled *قصر كفاية* the second *قصر عين*. The performance of the former (according to the *درا المختار*) may be deputed to another, i. e. to a substitute; but the duties defined by the latter expression admit of no such transfer, to perform them being imperative and indispensable upon every true believer.

dels who shall invade the territories of the Moslems, as is now the case in the contest in which we are engaged.* Now to attack these, becomes an act of paramount duty for every pious Mahomedan, and for all who would support their religion, whether bond or free, male or female, of the city or of the plain, without being dependant on or guided by the consent or refusal of master, husband, father, or creditor, or of any other person to whom he or she might in other matters owe obedience; since to engage in this warfare is imperative on every person, whether within three† days' journey of the position of the infidels or beyond that distance; should the forces of the faithful not be sufficiently strong to admit of their services being dispensed with.‡ It is the duty of

* The right of the Portuguese (who are here alluded to) to settle in Malabar, seems not very consistently questioned by the *Sheikh*; as his ancestors must have acquired their footing in that part of India by the same kind of invasion as that of which he here complains.

† The Arabic word قصر in a theological sense, implies usually, a certain exemption from prayer. It also means, an intervention of three days' journey.

‡ In the days of the Prophet, supernatural aid supplied any deficiency in the number of Mahomed's followers, for in his eighth chapter, or the Surah of the Koran, styled الانفال "Al-Infal" or "spoils," he would persuade his comrades that

him who is the leader in this holy war to take counsel, and concert measures with his companions, regarding the manner in which hostilities should be carried on, setting in order their ranks ; and, should any plunder fall into their hands, first causing it to be collected into one place, and afterwards distributing it, giving the effects of the slain to those by whose swords they fell. And, regarding this subject of the division of booty,*

that they owed their victory at Bedr to a thousand angels which were sent by God to his assistance. *اذ تستغيثون ربكم* "When ye desired succour from your God and he answered you: Surely I will assist you with a thousand angels." Abulfeda also, in his account of the battle of Bedr, says *ونصر الله نبيه بالملائكة* "And God succoured his prophet by his angels." Whilst Jellalodeen (the great commentator) would have it, that these angels fought, mounted on pie-bald horses *علي خيل يلقى* Other Mahomedan doctors have greatly magnified their number, for with some, as Gagnier says, "*Longe plures enumerantur angeli auxiliares in hoc prelio.*"—*De vita Mohammedis*, cap. xxvii. n.

* Mahomed, after gaining his first victory at Bedr, (which Abulfeda calls *غزوة الكبرى* or the greater battle, for Mahomed fought two battles at that place,) assumed the privilege of dividing the spoils, and in allusion to which event the 8th chapter of the Koran has its name of *الانفال* or the spoils. The dispute was, according to Jellalodeen, between the old men who had *not* fought but remained by the standards, and the young

whatever shall have been the personal property of the infidel (for instance, his clothes, boots, waist-belt, purse of money, or any cash or portion of his pay, or rings of silver or gold that shall be found on his person, with his weapons and horse, and saddle and bridle), of all these the chief shall make an equal division into five shares. Of these

young men who had. The learned Gagnier, in a note to his translation of Abulfeda's life of Mahomed, when speaking of this contention about the booty, says, "Qua occasione inter Moslemos magna jurgia et contentiones ortæ sunt, adeo ut etiam ad verbera ventum est." As usual, however, Mahomed made his followers suffer for their credulity, since on this pretence of his having received a divine commission to distribute all plunder, he shortly after, in his expedition to Al-Nadir, was pleased to assign the *whole* booty to himself. When dividing the spoils at Bedr he was contented with a fifth

واعلموا انما غنمتم من شي فان الله خمسته وللرسول ولذي القربى واليتامي والمساكين وابن السبيل. "For know ye, that whenever ye shall obtain any thing in plunder, a fifth part thereof shall be set aside for the Lord and His prophet, and for the kindred of the prophet, and for orphans and the poor, and for travellers." According to Al-Beidawi, however, Mahomed, besides these fifths, managed to appropriate on this occasion a scarlet carpet of very rich materials and made of silk. In allusion to the suspicions of his troops regarding this piece of roguery of his, he thinks it necessary to assure them in his 3d chapter (or Soorah عمران) that a prophet could not be guilty of any act of peculation.

shares, one being again divided by him into five portions. And of these portions, one shall be set aside for the general good of the Moslems, to be appropriated in the repairing of breaches, the building of fortifications and bridges, the raising of mosques, and for defraying the salaries of Cazees and Imams. Another shall be given to the descendants of the Prophet (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God!), to the descendants* of Hashum and the descendants of Motalleb. One portion shall be distributed amongst those who are orphans, and one amongst the poor and destitute, in whose number the fakeers shall be included. The fifth portion shall go to travellers.† And the four shares out of five that remain

* The first of these was the great uncle of Mahomed, the second his grandfather. Abulfeda begins his life of Mahomed in these words: *أبو رسول الله عبد الله بن عبدالمطلب*. "The father of the Prophet of God (on whom be the divine blessing and peace) was Abdullah, the son of Abdul-Motaleb." Mr. Sale, however, in his preliminary discourse to his version of the Koran, has reversed the matter, making Hashum the grandfather, and Motalleb the great uncle of Mahomed, which must be attributed to some inadvertence or mistake on the part of the printer, for his (Mr. Sale's) luminous illustrations of that work, and intimate acquaintance with the works of the commentators, make it very improbable that it originated with him.

† This is according to the opinion of Al-Shafee. The Mahomedan

shall be the property of the captors and those who were present at the time of the battle, and who actually were engaged in it. Further, he who combats against infidels, should offer up prayers and supplication to God for victory; occupying himself in the performance of acts of piety, reposing especially his whole trust in God (most high), before engaging in this holy warfare: for God it is who makes to prosper. Also he should beware of being guilty of any fraud or perfidy in the division of the plunder, against which there exist awful threatenings. Now it should be known, that from the Mahomedans of Malabar having no emir* amongst them, who was possessed of sufficient power and authority to govern them and to watch over their interests, they in consequence paid allegiance to the pagans. Notwithstanding this, however, engaging in hostilities against the (Christian) infidels, and freely expending their substance in warring against them, each accord-

homedan doctors, however, differ greatly in their opinions regarding the division of spoil.

* The word امير amir or emir, literally means "a prince or lord." It was adopted, however, as a title by the khalifs of Bagdad, and subsequently became to be applied, as D'Herbelot says, "à tous ceux qui sont censez être de la lignée de Mahomet par sa fille Fathimah, et qui portent le turban verd, pour être distinguez et respectez."

ing to the extent of his means ; being assisted in this warfare by that friend of the Mahomedans the Zamorin,* and being enabled to carry on hostilities against them, by his distribution to them of money and of warlike equipments generally ; this warfare having been early commenced upon by the Mahomedans, and having been persevered in by them, until their own condition in Malabar had become greatly reduced, in consequence of the interruption to their trade and the sacrifice of life and devastation of property, to which they had, in consequence of such a course, subjected themselves. Indeed, by their resolute adherence to it,

* The Zamorin may be considered to have been the same inveterate foe to the Portuguese that Tippoo was to the English. From Maffeus⁽¹⁾ we learn that the Mahomedans succeeded in exciting suspicion in the Zamorin's mind regarding the objects of De Gama's visit even, which soon ripened into an enmity towards him and his countrymen, that marked all the subsequent actions of his life, and made him ever ready to assist the attacks of the Mahomedans upon them ; whilst Tippoo, it is well known, always regarded himself as the Champion of the faith in Southern India, often boasting that he would drive out the English *cafirs*, who (according to Sir Thomas Munro) were classed by him " with dogs and hogs, and viewed as all brothers of one and the same family."

⁽¹⁾ " Ac primum, variis criminationibus ac maledictis, Gammam apud Regem consensu proscindunt." Lib. i. p. 27.

their necessities becoming every day more urgent, so that shortly they had arrived at the last stage of poverty, and decay, and wretchedness. Nor in this their distress did the neighbouring Mahomedan princes, or their emirs, evince any commiseration towards them, (nevertheless may God bless all those who shall afford them succour!) although to engage in this sacred warfare was incumbent upon them. Now, therefore, whoever possessed of power or sovereignty shall arise in their defence, him God most high shall cause to be victorious in this warfare with these infidels; for he who shall cheerfully expend his wealth, not withholding it in this sacred cause but affording it where required, in order successfully to attack the enemy and drive them forth from the kingdom of Malabar; and who, further, shall rescue out of their hands the ports of which they have obtained possession, and have brought under subjection to them; he who shall do this shall be called righteous and blessed; as, by the Divine blessing he shall have performed that which it was his duty to do, having alleviated the wounds of his brother in distress, and entitled himself to a reward, glorious, beyond what can be conceived; and of a recompense which, in its bestowal, shall call forth praise from the people of the East and West, such as it shall not be in their power to give expression to.

Furthermore, this person shall be beloved by and accepted of God and his angels, and the prophets and saints; and for his prosperity the prayers of the righteous amongst the servants of God shall avail, and the blessings of the poor and those who are friendless and in distress. Behold, then, how great is the reward of the religious militant, and of him who shall expend his wealth in this, the cause of God, and who shall relieve the distresses of the poor and those in misery. Verily, said the Prophet (on him may the blessing and peace of God for ever rest!), "Whoever shall deliver a believer from any one of the calamities incidental to this life, him will God in turn deliver from some one of the terrors that shall attend the day of resurrection." Now this is a tradition of good authority amongst the faithful. If, therefore, such a recompense shall await him who shall deliver a believer from any worldly calamity, however small, how much greater shall be the future reward of him who shall deliver many who are wretched and forlorn from great and numerous sufferings, by fighting for them, out of piety towards God? Truly the recompense to this man can be computed by God alone (whose name be for ever praised!). For the Lord most high has distinguished the militant against infidelity, and those who set free the friendless and in affliction,

in that he hath said, "Wherefore* is it that ye
 "do not fight for the true religion of God, and in
 "defence of those among ye who are weak, and
 "for your women and children?" Besides this
 saying also, there exist many others, and also
 traditions without number, all showing forth
 the merit of this holy warfare and of engaging
 therein, and of expending wealth in resistance to
 infidels; also regarding the blessings that attend
 martyrdom. Verily the Lord, Almighty and all
 Hallowed, hath said,† "It has been written, that
 "war against infidels is incumbent on you; never-
 "theless ye are averse to engage in it. Take
 "care, however, that herein ye do not refuse that
 "which is profitable for you, and perchance de-

* Koran, Soorah النساء al-nisa, or chapter the 4th, entitled
 "Women," from it's having reference chiefly to their treatment
 and concerns. According to Al-Beidawi (one of the most
 luminous of all the commentators upon the Koran), Mahomed
 here intends to censure those of his followers who had remained
 behind in Mecca, where the Koreish had detained them, after
 the Prophet's flight to Medina.

† Koran, Soorah البقر "al-bukur," or chapter 2d, entitled
 "The Cow," so called from an unmeaning story that Mahomed
 has introduced into it, regarding the red heifer which Moses
 ordered the Jews to sacrifice in the presence of Eleazar the
 priest. Vide Numbers, XIX chapter, 2d and following
 verses.

“ sire that which shall injure you, for the Lord is
 “ omniscient, whilst your understandings are
 “ blinded.” Further he said,* “ Surely God
 “ has purchased of the faithful their lives and pos-
 “ sessions, in that he has vouchsafed unto them
 “ the blessings of paradise if they will fight for
 “ the cause of God ; and whether they kill others
 “ or be themselves slain, of this the promises are
 “ made sure to them, both by the Tourat,† the
 “ Injeel,‡ and the Koran. And who shall be
 “ more faithful to his covenant than God ! Rejoice
 “ ye, then, in the covenant which ye have made,
 “ for by it shall ye obtain great happiness.” And
 he said,§ “ Those who expend their wealth in the

* Koran, Soorah التوبه “ al-toubah,” or chapter 9th, en-
 titled “ Repentance.” In consequence of this chapter being the
 only one in the Koran to which the بسم الله (bismi-allah) “ In
 the name of God,” has not been prefixed, the followers of the
 prophet regard it with some distrust. As to the cause of this
 omission the commentators are not agreed, some imagining it
 never to have been intended to be a separate soorah or chapter,
 but that it belonged to the preceding one. It is called re-
 pentance, in consequence of its commencing with a declara-
 tion of immunities, as Mr. Sale translates it.

† The Pentateuch, or five books of Moses.

‡ The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
 Christ.

§ Koran, Soorah البقر “ al-bukur,” or the second chapter,
 entitled

“ cause of God and to advance his religion, may
 “ be compared to a grain of corn, which produces
 “ seven ears, and in each of which are a hundred
 “ grains ; for God giveth increase where he will,
 “ and is all-bounteous and all-wise.” And he
 said,* “ Consider not those who have been slain
 “ in the cause of God as dead, but rather as yet
 “ alive in the presence of their God, being filled
 “ with joy for that of which, by the grace of
 “ God, they have been thought worthy, rejoicing
 “ for the sake of those who following, have not hi-
 “ therto arrived where they themselves are, seeing
 “ that both fear and grief are far from them.” And
 it is related in the Soheih of Bukharee and Mos-

entitled “The Cow.” This is the same chapter from which the Sheikh quotes in a preceding page.

* Koran, Soorah عمران “Imran,” or chapter the third ; a quotation from this chapter occurs in our author’s preface. In it Mahomed is guilty of that notable piece of forgery and falsehood, where he tells his followers that Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven shortly before he was to have suffered death, and that another person, upon whom God stamped the likeness of Jesus, was seized and crucified in his stead. This blasphemous story Mr. Sale considers to owe its origin to the apocryphal gospel attributed to St. Barnabas, in which forgery Judas Iscariot is the person made to suffer in the semblance of his blessed master.

sellim,* upon the authority of Abu-Horeira† (of whom may God approve!), that it was once asked the Prophet (upon whom may the blessing and peace of God for ever rest!) what act was of all the most meritorious: he answered,‡ “faith in God, and in his prophet; after this,” added he, “fighting in the cause of religion;” and then, “pilgrimage to Mecca.” Moreover the same authors, upon the same authority, have written, that the Prophet (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God!) declared, “The Lord has made it incumbent upon him who goes forth in his cause, that he should do so with firm trust in him, and with faith in his prophet. If he shall return in safety he shall be rewarded by the plunder which he

* Authors of two traditionary works.

† One of the associates of Mahomed.

‡ Islamism, or the Mahomedan religion, may be considered as divided into two distinct parts. The first ایمان Iman, faith, or theory. The second, دین Deen, religious practice. Both these rest on five fundamental points: one relating to “Iman,” or faith; the other four to “Deen,” or religious practice. The first is the Mussulman’s formula لا اله الا الله و محمد رسول الله La Ilah illu Illah, u Mahomed Rusoolihoo. There is no god but the one God, and Mahomed is his prophet.” The others are 1. صلاة or طهارة Prayer and ablutions. 2d. زكاة alms. 3d. صوم fasting. 4. حج Haj, or pilgrimage to Mecca.

“ shall have acquired ; but if he shall be slain,
“ then paradise awaits him.” Abu-Horeira also
has said, “ the Prophet declared (on him be
peace!), “ I swear by him from whom I have de-
“ rived my being, that there exists not amongst
“ the faithful one who can reject me, and who
“ shall be found to deny that merit which I
“ have ascribed to fighting for the sake of God ;
“ and I swear by him in whose hands are my
“ life, that I not only desire to die in so holy
“ a cause, but that if I possessed three lives,
“ I would cheerfully resign them all in the
“ same manner!” Abu Horeira further says, the
Prophet (on whom be peace!) declared, “ He
“ who goes forth to contend for God, shall be
“ considered equal in merit to those who practise
“ upon themselves all the austerities and bodily
“ mortifications which have been commanded by
“ God ; nor shall the holy warrior be considered
“ to have omitted either prayer or self-discipline
“ whilst he shall be absent in this warfare.” Fur-
ther, on the authority of the same associate, the
Prophet (on him be peace!) is declared to have
said, “ There has no one been wounded in fight-
“ ing for God but that it is known to God, and
“ who shall not appear on the last day ; from
“ whose wound also the blood that flows shall
“ be of a golden hue, and its odour that of

“ musk.”* Anas† moreover has related that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, “ Although
 “ to fight in the cause of God is a service of mortal
 “ danger, yet of all things in the world it is the
 “ best which a man can perform, and shall afford
 “ the most satisfaction.” Further, said he, the
 Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, “ There is no
 “ one who has found admission into paradise, who
 “ would desire to return again into the world,
 “ except it were that he might find the glorious
 “ death of a martyr; for nothing could be an in-
 “ ducement to him to leave the happiness of pa-
 “ radise for this world, unless he could for ten
 “ times make surrender of his life for God.” Also
 Jaber‡ (God rest satisfied with him!), relates,
 that a man said to the Prophet (on him be peace!)
 on the fatal day of Ohod,§ “ O thou Prophet! I
 “ discern that my death draws nigh, where shall

* In these days of degeneracy, it is feared, the Prophet would meet with none sufficiently devoted to accept martyrdom on terms so meagre and unsubstantial as these, that he would here propose to his followers, must be regarded.

† One of Mahomed's associates.

‡ This person, with all those whose names follow, were of the number of Mahomed's associates.

§ To this battle Mahomed makes frequent allusion in the Soorah عمران or the third chapter of the Koran: he lost two of his front teeth in it. According to Abulfeda, the forces of

“ my spirit be ? ” He answered, “ in paradise.” On hearing this, the warrior cast from him the dates that were in his hands, and rushing into the conflict, fought desperately until he was slain. And Sahal Ben-Saad relates, that the Prophet (on him be peace and blessing!) declared, “ To sit astride your horse for one day in contending for God, is a higher satisfaction than all else that the world can afford.” Abu Moosa also relates, that one came to the Prophet (on whom be the blessing and peace of God !) and asked, “ the man who slays to obtain plunder, or he who fights to perpetuate his fame, or he who enters the

the Koreish were three thousand men, Mahomed's not above one. Besides this disparity *ولم يكن معهم من الخيل سوى فرسين* “ they had only two horses amongst them.” The Prophet took one, and Abu-Barda the other. Shortly the party were terrified by the exclamation of Abu-Ramia (one of the Koreish) *اني قتلت محمدا* “ Ego Mohammedan interfeci.” Mahomed is no more. This was too good fortune for the Koreish, however, to be true ; Ramia had only displaced two of his front teeth. But in consequence of his archers having gone off somewhat prematurely to secure the plunder, to prevent any after foul play, the prophet was worsted and obliged to fly. Gagnier describing Ohod, says, “ Mons celeberrimus (inquit Gjannabius) in agro Medinensi, una paulo minus parasanga ab urbe dissitus, appellatur *أحد* Ohud, (or Ohod), quasi unicus et solus, propter singularitatem suam, eo quod ab altero monte vicino quasi abscissus videatur.”

“ combat in order that he may obtain martyr-
 “ dom and behold the place prepared for him,
 “ which of these three fights most for God, and
 “ serves him in the truest way?” He answered,
 “ He who fights in observance of the word of
 “ God, he it is who is before all, and he who
 “ renders to God the most faithful service.” And
 Abu Saud-ul-Hazree relates, that the Prophet (on
 him be peace!) declared, “ He of all mankind is
 “ the most righteous whose faith is sincere, and
 “ who freely expends his life and substance in
 “ fighting for God.” Bookharee also, upon the
 authority of Abu Hareira, that the Prophet (on him
 be peace!) declared, “ Verily, in paradise there
 “ are a hundred degrees of elevation, and each
 “ distinct; and God has promised to those who
 “ fight for his sake, the intermediate space be-
 “ tween one degree and the other, as the space
 “ which exists between the heavens and the earth.
 “ When God shall enquire of you then, which de-
 “ gree ye desire, then answer ye, ‘ Firdoos,’* ”

* Mahomedans give a great many names to Paradise. Besides the above, they call it الْجَنَّةُ “ Al Jinnet,” or the garden; جَنَّةُ عَدْنِ Jinnet Aden, “ the garden of Eden;” جَنَّةُ النِّعَمِ “ the garden of blessings;” each of these, according to some, being the appellation of a particular part of the garden, and which all vary in their degrees of felicity.

“ since it is in the centre of paradise, and situated
 “ in the most delightful and exalted part of it;
 “ above being the throne of the All-merciful, and
 “ out of it the rivers of paradise flowing.” Further, Abu-Abas has related, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, “ He who shall not
 “ arouse himself from slumber, and exert himself
 “ in the service of God, him shall the fire of
 “ hell receive.” And Abu-Kais also says, “ I
 “ heard Sad relate, that he, with certain Arabs (of
 “ whom he was chief) had gone out to fight for
 “ God against unbelievers, the Prophet (on whom
 “ be peace!) being also of their company; and
 “ no food being procurable, except the leaves of
 “ trees, one of their party devoured a quantity of

In فردوس Firdoos, they say, grows the tree called طوبى tobeh or “ sweet.” According to Mr. Sale, it is supposed to stand in Mahomed’s palace, from whence a branch of it is to reach to every true believer’s mansion, and which will be laden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, &c. Moreover, like Alladin’s lamp, it will present to him whatever he wishes for, flesh ready-dressed, garments ready-made, horses ready-saddled. The earth of this part of Paradise, according to Mahomedan doctors, is to be of finest wheat flour, or the best musk. The rivers which flow from the root of the tree tobeh are to be, some of milk, some of wine, some of honey. The position of the garden, lastly, is situate above the seven heavens, immediately under the throne of God,

“ these, equal to what a camel or sheep would
“ eat, nevertheless he suffered no harm !” More-
over Abu Horeira (God rest satisfied with him !) related, that the Prophet (on him be peace !) declared, “ He who shall bestow a horse upon one
“ who would enlist himself under the banner of
“ the Most High, and be one who has faith in
“ God and in his promises, surely both the food
“ of that horse and the sustenance of his rider,
“ with the ordure of the former, shall be placed
“ in the scales for his advantage on the day of
“ judgment.”* Moosellim further relates from that commentator (Abu Horeira), that the Prophet (on him be peace !) declared, “ He who shall
“ die without having fought for God, or who never proposed that duty to himself, verily consigns himself to destruction by his hypocrisy.” Again, “ The infidel, and he who slays him, shall
“ not be gathered in the fire together !” Again,
“ Of mankind he is the most meritorious, who
“ shall urge on his horse when fighting for God ;
“ flying forward, as it were, upon his back ;
“ disregardless of whatever shall reach his hearing, although horrible ; neither being avert-

* This must be considered as a somewhat whimsical method that the Prophet here proposes, for supplying any deficiency.

“ ed by any sounds of lamentation that shall
“ assault him, although so terrible, indeed, as
“ to frighten away from him all sense of death
“ and destruction : for neither the man who shall
“ seize upon the plunder of infidels (and whose
“ head shall be almost turned with his good fortune), or he who in the solitude of the desert
“ shall mortify his body by rigid privations and
“ prayer, and so shall have obtained full knowledge of God, shall be compared with him first
“ spoken of, although they shall not be without
“ their reward.” And Jabir Ben Surmah relates, that the Prophet (on him be peace !) declared,
“ Verily the true faith shall stand first, and the
“ wearers of the turbans* shall fight in defence of
“ it until the last day.” Soliman the Persian also relates, that he heard the Prophet (on him be peace !) declare, “ To urge forward a horse in
“ this holy warfare for one night and one day, is
“ better than fasting for a whole month, or than
“ the practice of rigid watchfulness during all that
“ time. Now if when so engaged he shall be
“ slain, he has accomplished that for which he
“ lived, and has obtained a provision for himself,
“ being placed beyond the reach of all further

* The followers of Mahomed.

“ perfidy and trouble.”* And Akbat Ben Aamir relates: “ I heard the Prophet (on him be peace!) “ when mounted in the pulpit, exclaim, ‘ O “ Moslems, promise that only which ye are able “ to perform, for instance, the exertion of your “ strength and skill in shooting arrows. Your “ archery it is that I require; your archery “ only will serve me.’†” Further he said: “ I “ heard the Prophet (on him be peace!) declare, “ He who learnt the art of archery and after- “ wards neglected it, is not of our number.” Again Abu Masood-ul Ansaree relates, that a man approaching the Prophet with a bridled camel in his hand said to him, “ This I devote to the “ service of God ;” whereupon the Prophet exclaimed (on him be peace!), “ Unto thee on the “ day of the resurrection shall seven hundred “ camels be given, all of them bridled.”‡ Mus-

* In a better cause there would be good philosophy in this argument of the Prophet's; although it must be confessed, that to get knocked on the head is, in the sight of most men, more intolerable than are all worldly troubles (as was long ago observed by the great master of nature), with which they would gladly make shift, rather than “ their own quietus make.”

† This expression is repeated three times in the original Arabic.

‡ Seven is a favourite number amongst the Mahomedans also. Mahomed made the first chapter of the Koran to consist only

rooh relates, also: " We asked of Abdullah Ben Masood regarding the following saying: ' Ye shall not consider those who have been slain in the cause of God as dead, but rather as yet alive in the presence of their God, enjoying that which has been provided for them.' "* He answered, ' We indeed inquired of the Prophet regarding this saying, when he declared to us,— Their spirits are in the belly of the green bird,† to enlighten which candles are suspended from the throne of God (by which is implied paradise), where all desires are fulfilled. Then they (these spirits) shall desire the sights of these candles, when God shall make visible to them his etherial presence, to the extent of their capability of discernment. For when God said, ' what desire ye?' they answered, ' what can we desire, we who are placed in paradise, where all our wishes are anticipated.' Then God spoke to them after the same manner three times; and when they perceived that he had ceased to address

only of seven verses. It is entitled سورة الفاتحة Soorah-ul-Fatihah, or "the introductory chapter."

* This quotation from the Koran will be found to have occurred in a preceding page.

† This is another name only for جنت فردوس, or the garden in paradise called Firdoos; for some account of which vide note, p. 32.

“ them, they prayed to him, saying: ‘ O Lord, we
 “ desire that our souls may return again to their
 “ bodies, in order that we may again surrender up
 “ our lives for thy sake.’ But He, the Almighty,
 “ knowing that this was not necessary for them,
 “ ceased to converse with them.” And upon the
 authority of Abdullah Ben Omar Ben Aas, it is
 related, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) de-
 clared, “ In the conflict for the cause of God all
 “ earthly things shall perish, save only the true
 “ faith.” Anas also relates: “ I had gone forth
 “ with the Prophet (on him be peace!) and with
 “ his companions, when he was attacked by the
 “ infidel, who furiously assaulted him. Then the
 “ Prophet (blessing and peace be upon him!) ex-
 “ claimed: ‘ Prepare ye to enter paradise, which
 “ exceeds in expanse both the heavens and earth.’
 “ The Amir Ben-al-Himam upon this cried out,
 “ ‘ Huzzah, Huzzah!’* The Prophet demanded

* **بيكي، بيكي** Bikhi, bikhi. The expression in the Arabic may be viewed as an exclamation expressing ridicule as well as joy. For this reason it was that Mahomed demanded from Himam the meaning of this (as he supposed it) unmannerly interruption. The battle alluded to here, was the defeat of the Prophet at Ohod, spoken of in a preceding page. Abul-feda, in his account of that engagement, says, that on Mahomed's finding himself beginning to be roughly used, he exclaimed, **كيف يفلح قوم خضبوا وجه نبيهم وهو يدعوهم الي رثهم** “ How shall

(on him be peace!) "What meanest thou in thus shouting, Huzzah! Huzzah?" He answered: "O Prophet, I take God to witness that I so exclaimed, only from the hope that is before me of becoming one of the inhabitants of paradise." The Prophet replied, "Behold! thou art already one." He added, "Cast from thee the dates that thou holdest in thy hand, in order that thou mayest partake of those that thou shalt find in paradise."* Further, the Prophet said, "I also would desire of those dates prepared for me, and which shall give life without end." Al-Himam exclaimed, "Thou hast said truly:" and thereupon throwing from him the dates that he had in

"that people prosper who besmear with blood the face of their Prophet, whilst he would invite them to their God." As the Prophet certainly began the attack, this remonstrance on his part must be thought something unreasonable.

* Whether the Prophet here alluded only to the dates which, according to him, grew on the tree tobeh, of which some mention has been made in a preceding note, or to his musk beauties, the حور العين Hoor-al-uyun, seems doubtful. Probably, however, to the latter, as the food that he proposes for the entertainment of his followers in Paradise consists only of the balam, and the fish hun (which Mr. Sale would consider to be the behemoth and leviathan of the Jews), and no mention is made of dates, except when enumerated amongst the various sorts of fruit that the famous tree of Paradise was to produce.

his hand, he rushed forward to the combat, slaying all around him, till he himself fell. Further Tirmuzee and Abu Daood have related, upon the authority of Fuzalut-Ben-Abeed, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) exclaimed, "Whenever one shall resign his breath, at that hour his work is finished; except him only who dies when charging the enemies of God, and whose account shall not be closed until the last day, who shall be delivered also from the purgatory of the grave."* Again Abu Daood, from Abu-Humamah, relates that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "He who has not fought for God, and

* This is in the Mahomedan creed of a very fearful nature, for when a man dies, they say his body is visited in the grave by two black and horrid spirits, named نكير و منكر Nukeer and Munkir, (both which words are divided from the Arabic root نكر "he denied, repudiation,") and who examine him touching his orthodoxy; that is, if he cannot answer لا اله الا الله و محمد رسوله "There is no god but the God, and Mahomed is his prophet," they begin so to cudgel, belabour, and bastinado him with iron clubs, that his cries are heard (except by those who remain in the world) throughout the whole universe. They mention also several other kinds of ill-treatment, even worse than this, so that martyrdom must have appeared, compared with what Mahomed threatened his followers if they did not submit to it, in the language of Sancho Pansa, "but mere tarts and cheesecakes."

“ has not given of his substance to those who have,
 “ or who has dissuaded any one of his people
 “ from that meritorious work, God verily has cast
 “ that person into hell-fire already, not reserving
 “ him for the last day.” Imam-Ben-Hussain has
 related also, that the Prophet (on him be peace!)
 declared, “There shall always remain for me a
 “ tribe of my people, who shall fight and slay in
 “ the cause of truth, and whose exterior shall
 “ give evidence of their inward feelings, until that
 “ time when they shall last of all destroy the
 “ Antichrist.”* And Tirmuzee relates, upon the
 authority of Ibn-Abbas, that the Prophet (on him
 be peace!) declared, “ There are two descrip-
 “ tions of eyes, which the fire of hell shall not
 “ destroy ; the eyes that weep in contemplating

* Called in the Arabic المسيح الدجال Al-museeh-ad-dujjal, or the false Messiah. It is the daily prayer of all devout Mahomedans, that they may never see the day of the Antichrist, dreading through means of the wiles of that impostor the perdition of their souls. Jellaluddeen, Zamakhshari, and other commentators on the Koran, were of belief that Jesus would hereafter descend from heaven, and having slain the Antichrist, would establish the Mahomedan religion throughout the world, after which the golden age should begin. How men, naturally endowed with good understandings, could have become bewildered with such idiotic vagaries as these, it is not easy to comprehend.

“ the indignation of God, and the eyes which are
 “ closed when in the act of combat for the cause
 “ of God.” Again Abu-Horeirah; that one of
 the associates of the Prophet (on him be peace!)
 when proceeding to battle, having turned aside
 into a cave in which were grapes and a limpid
 stream, exclaimed, “ If those who are my com-
 “ panions will excuse me from proceeding with
 “ them further, I will take up my dwelling in this
 “ cave.” On his saying this before the Prophet
 (on him be peace!), he answered, “ Thou shalt
 “ not do this, for the merit of all of you who go
 “ out to fight for God, is greater than what ye
 “ could acquire, if ye were to spend seventy years
 “ in offering up prayers in the house of God :*
 “ for if, indeed, ye desire to be forgiven of God,
 “ and to be hereafter admitted into paradise, then
 “ must ye go forth to fight for God, since he who in
 “ this holy warfare shall wound but a she-camel, he
 “ is truly deserving of paradise.”† Further, Abu-
 Trimuzee and Al-Musace, upon the authority of
 Abu-Horeirah, relate that the Prophet (on whom be

* The temple or sacred mosque of Mecca is probably here meant.

† Considering the value of a she-camel to an Arabian, Mahomed could hardly have pointed out to his followers any more fatal or effectual injury that they could occasion their enemies, than by thus destroying the chief means of their existence.

peace!) declared, "He who falls a martyr experiences none of the pangs of death; except, indeed, it be such sensations as men experience when surprised by joy." And Haram-Ben-Ateek relates, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "He who shall bestow any of his substance in the cause of God, or for the support of his religion, there shall be written down for him seven hundred-fold." And Ibn-Inajih has related it upon the authority of Alee, and Abu Adruda, and Abu Horeirah, and Abu-Amamah, and Abdullah-Ben-Omar; and Ben-Abdullah, and Imran Ben-Hoossain (with all of whom may God rest satisfied! and who all agree in this account), that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "He who has contributed of his wealth to those who fight for God, and remained at home, for every dirhem that he has so expended, he shall receive seven hundred-fold."* And after declaring this, he recited the following saying: "For God shall give increase where he will, He who is all beneficent and all wise."† And Abu-Daood

* The Sheikh, in making this demand upon the purses of those of his brethren who had rather pay for substitutes than enlist themselves, has been liberal with his authorities for his thus laying them under contribution.

† This pious exclamation, with others of a similar nature, occurs very frequently through the Koran.

has related upon the authority of Ibn-Abbas (God rest satisfied with him!) that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared to his associates, “When your brethren were slain on the day of Ohod, God transported their souls into the belly of the green bird,* from whence the rivers of paradise flow forth, and where they partake of its fruits, and behold the candles of God suspended in the shadow of his throne. Now when they perceived the purity and sweetness of their food and drink, and the pleasantness of their places of rest, they exclaimed, ‘Oh! where shall we find one who shall carry intelligence to our brethren on earth that we are in paradise, where the practice of mortifications is not required, or the severities of war experienced.’ And the Lord, most High, whose name be praised, made answer, ‘I will disclose this for your sakes.’ Therefore, God most High revealed that, saying, ‘Consider not those as dead who have fallen in the cause of God, but as yet living:’”—besides many other passages of the same import. Further, Hakim relates, from Abu-Moosa Al-Asharee, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared—“in the shades of the scymitars is paradise prefigured.” And Ibn-Majah has narrated it

* Firdous, or Paradise.

from Anas, that the Prophet (on him be the blessing and the peace of God!) declared, "He who shall resign his life in the cause of God, whatever pollutions he shall have collected about him shall be changed into musk on the last day." Al-Tibranee also has related it, (in the Kubeer*), on the authority of Ibn-Omar, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "He who shall afflict his head with pain in the cause of God, whatever crime was before this lying at his charge, shall now be pardoned." And Waellah relates, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "Whoever has lost his life in my cause may hereafter contend in the deep."† Ad-dillumee also, in his work called the Musnud-al-Firdous,‡ relates, that Abu-Horeira said, that the Prophet (on him be peace!) declared, "that to fight for one hour in supporting the religion of God, was better

* A work similar to the "Soheih" of Bokharee, and composed of traditions of Mahomed.

† The allusion in this passage is obscure. The Prophet's meaning probably is, that having thus established his devotion and courage, he is prepared to meet any danger. The sea, from the monsters that inhabit it, is generally quoted by eastern writers as the climax of all that is horrible.

‡ Or "the throne of Firdous," a work written in description of the delights of Paradise.

“ than to make fifty pilgrimages to Mecca.”
By which he meant to say, that the future reward that shall await the first act shall exceed that awarded to pilgrimages, however many in number. And the cause of this pre-eminence being given to the holy warrior is this, that he truly risks his life and all that he possesses for the sake of God, whilst others also reap the advantage of this self-devotion, which cannot be said of pilgrimages to Mecca, where the benefit extends no further than to the pilgrim himself.

CHAPTER II.

*Regarding the Manner in which the Mahomedan Religion
was first propagated in the Kingdom of Malabar.*

It should be understood, that prior to the introduction of Islamism into this country, a party of Jews* and Christians† had found their way to a city of Malabar named Cadungaloor,‡ having

* The Jews, according to a tradition which exists amongst the body of that nation who reside at Cochin, came to India from Persia, after they had been freed from their servitude by Cyrus, about 540 years before the birth of Christ. Fra Paolino, however, seems to doubt this account of their origin, and Dr. Forster quotes a Portuguese work, entitled "Noticias dos Judeas de Cochin," which says, that about A.D. 369, seventy or eighty thousand Jews were landed from the kingdom of Majorca, on the Malabar coast.

† These were the Christians of St. Thomas's Mount, or Nestorians, who, according to Paolino, were partly descendants of those original inhabitants of the land who were converted to the Christian faith by the apostle Thomas, and partly of other Christians who went from Mesopotamia and Chaldea to India, and with whom the coast of Malabar abounds.

‡ Cranganore. Here the Jews established themselves, founding a small kingdom. The origin of the black Jews, Dr. Forster ascribes to the custom of the white ones purchasing
slaves

landed there from a ship of large size, in which they had transported with them also their families and followers. Now the residence of the King of Malabar being in this city, these people petitioned him for the assignment to them of certain tracts of land, and for the grant of certain gardens and buildings; and these, by the king's command, having been allotted them, they settled upon them. And some years after this event there arrived at Cranganore a company of poor Moslems, men who had devoted their lives to the exercise of religious austerities, and who, at this time, under the spiritual guidance of a Sheikh who was of their party, designed a pilgrimage to the footstep of our forefather Adam, at Ceylon* (on him be peace!),

slaves and converting them to their religion. These Jews, he says, were so much oppressed by the Portuguese, that in the year 1565, the body of them at Cranganore were obliged to beg protection from the King of Cochin. It was probably about this period, therefore, that the greater part of the white Jews removed to the latter place, and where they are now chiefly to be found.

* " La tradition la plus commune parmi les Musulmans " est, qu' Adam tomba sur la montagne de Serandib, c'est " l'île de Zailan, ou il y a encore aujourd'hui une montagne " que les Portugais appellent Pico de Adam."—D'Herbelot.

Eve, according to the same author, is supposed to have alighted, in her fall from Paradise, at Jeddah in the Red Sea.

and intelligence of their arrival having reached the King, sending for them into his presence, he manifested towards them much kindness, conversing with them without reserve : and enquiring of them their circumstances and condition, the Sheikh, encouraged by the King's condescension, related to him the history of our prophet Mahomed (upon whom may the divine favour and blessing for ever rest!), explaining also to the monarch the tenets of Islamism ; whilst, for a confirmation of their truth, he narrated to him the miracle of the division of the moon.* Now, conviction of the

* This miracle, which has justly been stigmatized by Grotius in his admirable treatise " De Veritate," as " miracula quæ sui absurditate refelluntur," is styled in Arabic اشفاق القمر Ishfaq-ul-kumur, " or the fissure or division of the moon." It is only justice, however, to Mahomed to remark, that this miracle, like those of the doves flying to his ear, and the camels addressing him, were not of his own fabrication, but were ascribed to him after his death by his fanatic followers. Mahomed himself was too wise to boast of any miraculous power ; indeed in the following and other passages he disclaims it: قل لا اقول لكم عندي خزائن الله ولا اعلم الغيب " Say, I declare " not unto you that the treasures of God are at my power, " neither do I say unto you I know the secrets of God, neither " do I say unto you verily I am an angel, I follow only that " which is revealed unto me." Koran, Soora انعام or Inam, chapter vi. entitled " Cattle."

Prophet's divine mission, under the blessing of Almighty God, having followed this relation, the heart of the King became warmed with a holy affection towards Mahomed (on whom be peace!),* and, in consequence of this his conversion, he with much earnestness enjoined the Sheikh, after the completion of his pilgrimage to Adam's footstep, to return with his companions to Cranganore, as it was his desire hereafter to unite himself to them; but in communicating, he forbid the Sheikh to divulge this his secret intention to any of the inhabitants of Malabar. Shortly after this the Sheikh with his company sailed in prosecution of their voyage to Ceylon, and from thence, in due time, they retraced their course to Cranganore, when the King instructed the Sheikh to make ready a vessel, and provide it with every thing necessary for proceeding on a voyage; directing, however, at the same time, that he should be careful to conceal it from the knowledge of every one that he was so engaged. Now, there were lying in the harbour of Cranganore at this time a great many vessels, which

* This benediction, in imitation of the Koran, is expressed in the mystical abbreviation of صلعم sulam, for صلي الله عليه وسلم sul-lul-lah-oo aleihi wa sulum, may God bless and preserve him.

belonged chiefly to foreigners who were engaged in trade ; and the Sheikh, accosting the master of one of them, informed him that it was the desire of himself and his company of pilgrims to embark in his ship : to which the master having consented, when the time for the vessel's departure drew near, the King issued a prohibition to the officers of his household and government from entering into his presence for the space of seven days. He, in this interval of seclusion, selected for each of the several provinces of his dominions an officer to rule over it in his absence, and prepared for the guidance of each of them distinct and detailed instructions, wherein he defined the limits of their several governments ; having in view, in this measure, the prevention of any encroachment on the part of any one of these his Viceroys on the territories of another ; an event still notorious amongst the Pagans of Malabar ; since the sovereignty of this monarch extended throughout the whole of that kingdom, the southern confine of which is Kamhara, and its northern boundary Kanjercote. But to continue our narration. The King, after thus evincing his consideration, embarked with the Sheikh and his poor comrades, proceeding on board the vessel under the concealment of night : and setting sail, they shortly arrived off Fundreeah, where the King landing,

remained a day and a night ; and again embarking, the ship proceeded on to Durmuftun, where the King, with the companions of his voyage, staid three days ; at the expiration of which time they again set sail, touching no where until they reached the coast of Arabia :* here the King and all on board the ship having quitted it, remained for a considerable time. Subsequently, however, having projected to return to Malabar, for the purpose of erecting mosques and disseminating the Mahomedan religion in that country, when about to set out upon their voyage the king fell sick ; and his disease proving of a mortal nature, he solemnly enjoined those who had accompanied him from his outset upon the expedition (and these were Shiuff-Ben-Malik and his brother from Alaim,† Malik-Ben-Deenar and his nephew Malik-Ben-Habeeb, Ben Malik and some others) not to abandon their voyage from Malabar, after, or in consequence of his death. But on these replying to him, that they were ignorant both of the position of his dominions and the extent of his sovereignty, and adding, that their attachment to his person was their only inducement for having consented to ac-

* The word in the Arabic شجر Shuhur, includes the whole line of coast from Oman to Aden.

† A town in Persia.

company him, the King became thoughtful and perplexed. After remaining for some time, however, absorbed in reflection, he wrote for them, in the character and language of Malabar, a description of his territories and kindred, detailing also the names of the different governors who had been appointed by him throughout his dominions. Further, he instructed the persons above named, that they should either proceed to Cranganore, or to Durmuftun, or to Fundreeah, or Quilon ; making this his last solemn injunction to them : “ But “ tell ye not to any of my people of Malabar of “ the violence of my sufferings, or that I am no more :” and after this he surrendered his soul to the unbounded mercy of God. Now, some years after this event, Ebn Malik, and Malik-Ben-Deenar, and Malik-Ben-Habeeb, with the wife and family of the latter, besides others of their relatives and dependants, setting sail in a vessel for Malabar, arrived off Cranganore ; and having landed there, they proceeded to deliver the letter of the deceased King to his viceroy at that place, concealing, however, from him the fact of his death. And this chief having informed himself of the nature of the instructions conveyed in this mandate, assigned to the bearers of it certain lands and gardens, as therein directed : and upon these being settled they erected a mosque, Malik-

Ben-Deenar resolving to fix himself there for life ; but his nephew, Malik-Ben-Habeeb, after a time quitted this place, for the purpose of building mosques throughout Malabar. And with this design he proceeded first to Quilon, carrying with him thither all his worldly substance, and also his wife and some of his children. And after erecting a mosque in that town and settling his wife there, he himself journeyed on to Hubaee Murawee, and from thence to Bangore, Mangalore, and Kanjercote, at all which places he built mosques ; after accomplishing which, he returned to Hubaee Murawee, where he staid for three months. And from this town he went to Zaraftan, and Durmuftun, and Fundreeah, and Shaleeat ; in all of these towns also raising mosques, remaining five months at the last place, and from thence returning to his uncle Malik-Ben-Deenar at Cranganore. Heré, however, he staid but a short period, soon again setting out for the mosques that he had erected at the above-mentioned towns, for the purpose of consecrating and endowing them ; and after doing this, he once more bent his steps towards Cranganore, his heart being full of gratitude towards God, because of the dawning of the light of Islamism on a land which teemed with idolatry. Moreover, Malik-Ben-Deenar and Malik-Ben-Habeeb, with their associates and dependants,

afterwards removed to Quilon, where the latter and his people remained. But Ben-Deenar, with certain of his companions, sailing from thence for the coast of Arabia, on their arrival there proceeded to visit the tomb of the deceased king. Subsequently, Malik, travelling on to Khorasan, there resigned his breath. As for Ben-Habeeb, after settling some of his children in Quilon, he returned with his wife to Cranganore, where they both exchanged this life for a better. Now, in what I have above related, you have the common and earliest tradition that exists, regarding the propagation of the Mahomedan religion in Malabar. Touching the exact time when this event occurred there is no certain information ; but there appears good ground for the supposition that it happened about two hundred years after the flight of the Prophet (to whom be all blessing and praise ascribed!). Notwithstanding that, amongst the Mahomedans of Malabar, the conversion to Islamism of the king (before alluded to) is believed to have taken place in the time of the Prophet (upon whom be blessing and peace!), it having been occasioned by that monarch's perceiving in a vision, during night, the partition of the moon,* which miraculous circumstance induced him

A.D. 822.

* Vide note, p. 49.

to set out upon a journey to visit the Prophet (upon whom be blessing and peace!), and having been blessed with an interview with him, he returned to the coast of Arabia, designing to return to Malabar with the individuals before named, when he died there. There is, however, but little truth in this account. It is a fact, moreover, now well known to all, that the king was buried at Zofar, instead of on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, at which place his tomb can be seen by every one, and is indeed now flocked to on account of its virtues. And the king, of whom this tale is told, is styled by the people of that part of the world, As-Samuri, whilst the tradition of his disappearance is very common throughout the population generally of Malabar, whether Moslems or Pagans; although the latter would believe that he has been taken up into heaven, and still continue to expect his descent, on which account they assemble at Cranganore, and keep ready there wooden shoes and water,* and on a certain night of the year burn lamps, as a kind of festival, in honour of his memory. Further, it is a prevailing belief amongst these people, that

* So that, in case of his descent taking place, he might not want these accommodations. The wooden shoes are peculiar to the Brahmins.

the king, when the time of his departure drew nigh, made a division of his kingdom amongst his companions, giving a share to all, except to the chief who afterwards became the Zamorin, and who at this time had possessed himself of the harbour of Calicut, being absent at the time of this division; and who, when he afterwards appeared in the royal presence, was presented by the king with a sword, saying, "Strike with this, and thou shalt reign;" and having faithfully observed this injunction, before a long season had elapsed, he obtained possession of the city of Calicut, where the Mahomedan emigrants had settled, and whither merchants and men possessed of wealth flocked from various quarters; from these sources its trade increased with such rapidity that the city became greatly enlarged in size and importance, there being congregated in Calicut men of all nations, whether believers or heretics. The increasing authority of the Zamorin, also, amongst the Rays of Malabar and the chieftains of that country (the whole of whom were Pagans, and possessed of various degrees of authority and power) became manifest, in that, whilst the territories of some became the prey of others, by means of the assistance and co-operation of the Zamorin, and through the blessing that attended him from the prayers of the deceased king

(who had enjoined him to make conquests), yet notwithstanding, the territories of his dependants remained secure and unmolested : this proceeded from the divine blessing of the Prophet (on whom be peace!) and from the influence of that religion which acknowledges him as its founder. And amongst the chieftains above alluded to, there were some whose territories did not exceed one parasang in extent, whilst others exercised rule over far more extended domains. Some, again, had at their command only 100 soldiers ; whilst others could bring into the field from 200 to 100,000 men, and some even more than this last number. It was not unusual, however, for certain cities to make a league amongst themselves, two or three together, or sometimes a greater number, having in view in this alliance their general safety ; and notwithstanding that one city might be more powerful and could command more men than another, yet when a league of this description had once been entered into, although occasional quarrels and disagreements might occur, the treaty of amity between them was never entirely disregarded. Now amongst those who possessed the greatest number of troops were Juroodee, the Ray of Qulon, and Kumharee, and others, whose countries lay between, and to the east of, those towns, and whose territories were of considerable

extent. After these came Kolturee, the Ray of Hubbee Marawee, and then the chieftains of Juruftun and Cannanore and Akdad, and Durmuftun, and others of similar extent of territory, all of these being famous for their power and wealth; but the most distinguished of them was the Zamorin, chiefly owing to the blessed influence of the religion of Islamism, and resulting from the regard manifested by him for its followers, and from his kind treatment of them generally, but particularly as evinced towards those of them who were strangers and in want. Notwithstanding that, the pagans would have ascribed his ascendancy to the sword presented to him by the king, before alluded to, this sword to this day being in the possession of the Zamorin, preserved by him with great veneration and respect, and carried by him whenever he goes forth to battle or into any great assembly. With regard to the wars of this chieftain, whenever he commenced hostilities against any of the inconsiderable chiefs of Malabar, provoked to do so by any aggression on their part, after subduing them, it was his practice to return to them some portion of their possessions, provided he had not been irritated beyond measure; and this restitution, although sometimes delayed for a long time, he always made in the end, herein evincing a po-

litic regard for the prejudices and feelings of the people of Malabar, who have a great reverence for all old customs and observances, of which this preservation of ancient right formed one which was never broken through, except on some extraordinary occasion ; and particularly, as to act in this way was contrary to the natural disposition of the Zamorin, which dictated to him in war nothing but the destruction of lives and the desolation of countries, to the utmost extent which it should be in his power to effect.

CHAP. III.

*Relating certain peculiar Customs that distinguish the
Pagans of Malabar.*

Now it must not be concealed, that there are found amongst the pagans of Malabar usages of an extraordinary nature which are unknown in any other quarter of the world; and amongst these may be instanced the following: Should the Ray, or chieftain of any tribe of them be slain in battle, his troops continue a war of extermination against those who were the occasion of his death, attacking them and their cities, until they have succeeded in annihilating the one and laid desolate the other. From this cause, therefore, it happens, that their enemies cautiously avoid killing any of their Rays, dreading the consequences which from this ancient custom are inevitable; although, in latter days, less apprehension is shewn by those opposed to them in this particular. The Rays of Malabar are of two parties: the first, those who support the Zamorin; the second, those who are in alliance with the Ray of Cochin. Now this division is only occasioned by the circumstance

of the rivalry of those two great chieftains; and which, when it shall be at an end, this distinction of party will also cease.* In their wars they seldom have recourse to treachery; but fixing upon a certain day with their enemies when to decide their quarrel by arms, they regard any treacherous departure from this engagement both as base and unworthy. Upon the death of any great person or near relative, as a father or mother, or elder brother, amongst the Brahmins of Malabar (comprising carpenters and people of that description), or of a mother, or maternal uncle, or elder brother, amongst the Nairs, and their connections, the men of both these castes will abstain for a whole year from associating with women and from eating animal food; during this time, also, neither shaving their hair, nor cutting their nails, but rigidly enduring these and such mortifications, out of reverence to the memory of the dead. The laws of inheritance amongst the Nairs,

* According to Paolino, kings of the first rank were the Samuri and Perompadapil (the king of Cochin), who were always at war with each other. To the second rank belonged the kings of Janum, Codangalar, Purpurangari, Airur, Cannanore, Rapolun, Cajamcollam, Parur, &c. Those of the third were called Karttava, i. e. princes or lords; such were the Karttavas of Panamacatta, Cunateri, Massuanani, &c.

and other castes allied to them, make property to descend to the brothers from the mother, and to the children of their sisters and maternal aunts, and to all who are descended from the mother, and not to the immediate offspring. And this peculiarity of excluding the immediate offspring, has been adopted by the greater part of the Mahomedans of Cannanore, and those who are dependent on them in the neighbourhood of that place ; although there are not wanting among them, who read the Koran, treasure up its maxims, and study it with apparent zeal, being seemingly desirous to improve themselves by science, and who are regular in the performance of religious worship. Amongst the Brahmins and the trades, such as painters and carpenters, ironsmiths, and labourers generally, and amongst fishermen and other castes of a similar description, inheritance goes to the children born in marriage ; but amongst the Nairs there is no such ceremony as marriage, a string worn round the neck of a woman being all that gives sign of her marriage ; and this only being worn by her when she first forms such connection, for she afterwards throws it off or continues to wear it, as her pleasure or expediency dictates. With regard also to the marriage of the Brahmins, when there are several brothers in one family, the eldest of them alone enters into

the conjugal state* (except in cases where it is evident that he will have no issue), the remainder refraining from marriage, in order that heirs may not multiply, to the confusion of inheritance. The younger brothers, however, intermarry with women of the Nair caste without entering into any compact with them, thus following the custom of the Nairs, who have themselves no conjugal contract. In the event of any children being born from these connections, they are excluded from the inheritance ; but should it appear evident that the elder brother will not have issue, then another brother, the next to him in age, will marry. Among the Nairs and the castes connected with them, two or four men live with one woman,† each of them in turn passing the night with her, in the same manner as a Mahomedan

* Fra Paolino remarks, that on the coast of Malabar a custom prevails in the caste to which the braziers belong, that the elder brother alone should marry. This custom is not restricted to the braziers, but extends to the Brahmins and others.

† This custom (which Dr. Forster's translator calls the *πολυανδρία* of the Nair women), Dr. Foster thinks may perhaps cause more males to be brought into the world, and thus supply the check to population which Fra Paolino is of opinion takes place in India, from the following causes : 1st. The small pox ; 2d. Polygamy ; 3d. Continual wars and revolutions ; 4th. The oppression of rulers.

divides his caresses amongst his wives ; and it is seldom that any hostility or disagreement takes place between the men, in consequence of this their possession in common of the same female. The carpenters, and ironsmiths, and painters, and others of their description, following them in this custom, cohabit two or more together with one woman, but not unless they are brothers or in some way related, lest confusion should ensue in the inheritance of property. The Nairs have their bodies for the most part exposed, wearing only a covering around their middles. In this custom, both men and women, and kings and nobles, without exception, agree. Neither do they conceal their women from the sight of any one ; for whilst the females of the Brahmin caste are kept veiled from sight, the Nairs adorn their women with jewels and fine clothes, and bring them out into their great assemblies, for the men to behold and admire.* Touching the laws of succession to the sovereignty, none but the eldest of the akhuns, or sons of maternal uncles, can succeed ; although this the first-born should be dumb, or besotted

* “ *Mulieres circa curam capitis multæ sunt. Crines diu pexos concinnatosque in summo circumligant vitta gemmis auroque distincta, reliqui corporis ornatus minime lascivus.*”—Maffei *Historia*, lib. vi. p. 111.

in intellect, or blind, or incompetent. Notwithstanding this law, it has never been heard of, that any of the akhuns has ever conspired against any one of his elder brethren in order to clear the way for his own more speedy accession.* In the event of the failure of rightful heirs, or of any scarcity of them, they make choice of a stranger (provided he be a person advanced in age) to succeed, instead of the son, or brother, or nephew; and after this adoption they make no distinction between him and a lawful heir. And this custom prevails with all the pagans of Malabar, whether in the succession to kingdoms and high dignities, or to the most inconsiderable patrimonies; a perpetuity of heirs being thus secured to them. The Nairs are subject to troubles without end, which

* Buchanan has remarked, that to a European the succession among the Malabar chiefs appears very extraordinary, instancing the Shekury family, in which the males are called Achuns, and never marry. This title, however, appears not confined to the males of this family only. All the females are called Nairtears, whose male offspring become Achuns. On the death of the Shekury, he says, the Ellea Rajah succeeds to the highest dignity, and each inferior Rajah gets a step, and the eldest, entitled Achun, becomes Feriputamura. Maffei on this subject: "*Demortuo regi, e filiis maximus natu; sin de-
sint liberi (quod in tanta uxorum turba perrarum est) proximus
e regia stirpe succedit.*"—Lib. vi. p. 118.

they patiently endure, from their division in castes, countless in number, of high, low, and all intermediate degrees: for, if it happen that one of high shall come in contact with one of inferior caste, or approach him nearer than the distance prescribed for him in his intercourse with inferiors, it becomes necessary that he bathe himself, it being unlawful for him to eat before this ablution; because, should he neglect this purification, he would be degraded from his caste, and could never afterwards be admitted into any but the lowest grade. Indeed, he seldom finds security, except in flying to some place where his degradation, and the cause of it, shall be unknown; otherwise the head-magistrate of the district to which he belonged would probably seize him and sell him as a slave to one of an inferior rank, being even indifferent whether his purchaser be a boy or a woman.* Sometimes, one thus situated will come

* Adultery also was, according to Paolino, punished with this penalty. If a woman was guilty of it, she lost, he says, the prerogative of her caste, and was sold as a slave to some foreigner, whether Christian, Jew, or Mahometan. He adds, that this was the case, in particular, with the celebrated wife of a Brahmin at Allangata, who had been degraded and sold, and who was afterwards baptized by the Bishop of Areopolis in Malabar. Maffei has erred in saying, "*Deprehensum adulterium æque viri ac feminae, capite luitur.*" Were it so, half the country would be depopulated.

over to us, and embrace Islamism, or will turn Yogee (or religious mendicant), or Christian.* Upon the same principle of jealous restriction, one of high caste cannot partake of food which has been prepared by one of lower grade; for should he do so, he has only the alternative above mentioned. Those who wear the string carrying this badge of caste around their necks, and to whom these restrictions apply, are the highest of all the pagans of Malabar. But these, again, are divided into classes, which are both of high, low, and all intermediate degrees; the Brahmins, who also are of various grades, ranking above all. After them come the Nairs, who are the soldiers of Malabar, and who are very numerous and possessed of great power: of them also there are different classes, from the highest to the lowest. Then the cultivators and shanars,† the occupation of the latter being to climb the cocoa-nut trees, gather the fruit, and extract the juice from its branches,

* Paolino baptized, he tells us, a Brahmin woman at Edapulli who had been guilty of adultery. "When I asked," said he, "why she wished to embrace the Roman Catholic religion?" she replied, "Inika dosham vanica poi;" that is, "I have been guilty of a sin." Her explanation would seem to pay but an equivocal kind of compliment to the creed of the good Carmelite father.

† These are a caste of Malabars whose employment it is to gather betel-leaf, extract toddy, &c.

which becomes a fermented liquor of an intoxicating nature. After these come carpenters, iron-smiths, painters, fishermen, and numerous other classes who are labourers generally: also those whose occupation consists in the cultivation of the ground. Of all these various distinct classes, on any illicit intercourse taking place between a man of inferior caste and a woman* of high rank, whilst the intimacy subsists, the woman is degraded from her caste, unless she should bring forth a male: but, should she not become pregnant from this connection, the husband seizes her and sells her as a slave; unless she should fly to us and embrace Islamism, or turn Christian, or become a Yogee. In the same manner, should a man of high caste have intercourse with a woman of low caste the former would be degraded, and have no remedy but in one of the alternatives above mentioned. An exception to this rule, however, is made in the case of the wearers of the threads, who have intercourse with

* According to Paolino, it was only women of a lower class than the Brahmin that were sold as slaves when they held any criminal intercourse with men of inferior condition; for he says, "This crime is overlooked when women, over whom their caste has no power, lead irregular lives, or when they indulge in such licentiousness with men belonging to higher caste."

Nair women without being subjected to this penalty; this exemption in their favour arising from the law that exists amongst them with regard to the marriage of the elder brother only, the younger ones being thus driven to connect themselves with Nair women. Further, to how many more troublesome and unmeaning usages of this nature do they foolishly submit themselves, thus multiplying vexations! The mention, however, of their customs that has already been made, would hardly have been consistent with decency, or indeed with justice, had it not appeared indispensable for the true understanding of what follows in these pages: but to return to our relation. Sherif-Ebn-Malik, and Malik-Ben-Deenar, and Hubeeb-Ben-Malik, and their companions, of whom mention has been already made, on their first settling in Malabar, by building mosques in the ports above-mentioned, and disseminating throughout the adjacent country the Mahomedan religion, gradually brought over the inhabitants to Islamism, whilst merchants from various parts frequented those ports. The consequence was, that new cities sprang up; and amongst the number of these may be named, first, Calicut, Baleenkot, and Travankad; then Tamoor, Timan, and Poo-rangar; after these Purinoor; and in the neighbourhood of Shaleeat, Kabkat, and Turkoree, and

the other towns around Fundreeah, and Cannanore, and Adkhat, and Travinkar, and Meilee, and Chunpa; in the vicinity of Durmuftun, also, and to the south of it, Buduftun and Nazoourum; and to the south of them, Cranganore and Cochin, and Beit and Baleerum, besides other sea-port towns. Now in all these the population became much increased, and the number of buildings enlarged, by means of the trade carried on by the Mahomedans, towards whom the chieftains of those places abstained from all oppression; and, notwithstanding that these rulers and their troops were all pagans, they paid much regard to their prejudices and customs, and avoided any act of aggression on the Mahomedans, except on some extraordinary provocation; this amicable footing being the more remarkable, from the circumstance of the Mahomedans not forming a tenth part of the population. Now the sea-ports of Malabar, from the earliest times, have possessed importance; amongst the most considerable of which the port of Calicut formerly ranked; though it has now become much diminished in power and wealth, in consequence of the arrival of the Franks in Malabar, and the hinderance offered by them to the trade and commercial pursuits of its inhabitants. The Mahomedans of Malabar, however, having no emir amongst

them possessed of sufficient power and authority to govern them, are consequently under the rule of the pagan chieftains, who faithfully guard their interests and decide between them, besides granting to them advantageous privileges; and should any Mahomedan subject himself to the punishment of fine by them, notwithstanding his delinquency, or any other provocation, their treatment to the faithful, as a body, continues kind and respectful, because to them they owe the increase of towns in their country, these having sprung up from the residence of the faithful amongst them, and from their ceremonious observation of Friday and of the festivals, and from their appointing sacred seasons for prayer, and for the due performance of the divine duties amongst them. For the Mahomedans do not permit the profanation of Friday; he who profanes it subjecting himself, in the greater part of the countries of Malabar, to fine and punishment. If a Mahomedan shall have committed a crime worthy of death, and which, by the laws of the inhabitants of the country is considered capital, having first obtained the assent of the principal Mahomedans, the pagans put him to death, and after his execution deliver his body over to his brethren; who, having washed it and placed it in a coffin, offer up over it the prayer for the dead, and

afterwards give it burial amongst the dead of their sect: but when a pagan has been condemned to die, having put him to death and gibbeted him, they leave his body to be devoured by dogs and jackals. Regarding the imposts of the chiefs of Malabar, they exact a tenth part upon all articles of merchandize; they levy penalties and deodands, also, when any one has subjected himself to them. Now, they demand no land-tax from the tenants of the lands and gardens, although they are of great extent; they refrain also from entering the houses of the Mahomedans without their permission. On the occasion of a Mahomedan being guilty of any crime, or of injuring the person of another feloniously, the chief of the pagans calls upon his brethren to drive him out from amongst them, and to degrade him and bring him to punishment. Lastly, the Nairs do not molest their countrymen who have abjured idolatry and come over to the Mahomedan religion, nor endeavour to intimidate them by threats, but treat them with the same consideration and respect that they evince towards all other Mahomedans, although the persons who have thus apostatized be of the lowest grade. In short, in consequence of the friendly treatment that they uniformly experienced from these people, the Mahomedan merchants in ancient times were induced to come amongst, and associate with them.

CHAPTER IV.

Being an Account of the Arrival of the Franks in Malabar, and of their villainous Proceedings in that Country. And this Chapter is divided into Sections.

SECTION I.

Relating the first Appearance of the Franks in Malabar, the Occurrence of Hostilities between them and the Zamorin, and their building Fortifications at Cannanore; also, their Seizure and Occupation of the Harbour of Goa.

Now, the year in which the Franks first visited Malabar was the 904th of the Hejira,* when

* Maffei gives the following interesting account of the departure of Vasco de Gamma and his comrades from Lisbon, on the 7th of July 1497: "Ac quamdiu lætis de more vocibus, ac vario tympanorum tubarumque concentu anchoras moliuntur, rudentes expediunt, et reliqua munera certatim obeunt nautæ, miram hilaritatem vultu præ se tulit Gamma sociique. Ast ubi solutis anchoris, ac sublati jam antennis, ultimum signum profectionis insonuit, tum vero mutuo conspectu partim integratæ, partim coortæ omnibus lacrymæ, nec modus fuit, quoad vehementior Boreas naves in altum provectas, ex oculis abstulit."—Lib. i. p. 20.

"Long

three of their vessels having, towards the close of the Indian season,* anchored off Fundreeah,† a party from on board left the ships, and proceeded by land to Calicut. At this city they

“ Long time had Afric’s interposing mound,
 “ Stretching athwart the Navigator’s way,
 “ Fenc’d the rich east, and sent the adventurer’s bark
 “ Despairing home, or whelm’d her in the waves.
 “ Gama, the *first*, on bold discovery bent.”

Historical Fragment—*Cumberland.*

* As the Sheikh, throughout his work, distinguishes the western monsoon by the term أيام المطر or, “the days of rain,” it is probable that by موسم الهند or, “the Indian season,” he means those months in the year in which the ports of Malabar are usually frequented, viz. from October to April. Maffei, speaking of the time of their arrival upon the Malabar coast, says: “Julio ineunte Olisipone soluerant; mensibus ferme undecim in itinere insumptis, circa Maii exitum in Indiam deferuntur.” He adds afterwards, “hyemis erat initium.” By the beginning of winter, will be understood the setting in of the S. W. monsoon, which takes place usually in Malabar towards the end of May. Hamilton gives the 18th of May 1498 as the date of the arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut, and probably on the authority of Faria-y-Souza, who says that De Gamma left Lisbon on the 8th of July 1497, reached Melinda on the African coast on the 11th of March, and Calicut on the 20th July 1498.

† According to Osorius and others, De Gamma first anchored at a place about two leagues from Calicut, which must have been the port here named Fundreeah.

remained for some months, employing themselves in gathering information of the statistics and condition of the several countries of Malabar;* but, on this occasion, they abstained from engaging in trade, and at the expiration of the above period returned to their own country in Europe.† And

* A Mahomedan merchant named Monzaida, who spoke Spanish, is described by the Portuguese historians as having attached himself to De Gamma from an admiration of his character, and afforded him the most important services, by giving him a full description of the climate, customs, and productions of Malabar.

† The jealousy of the Mahomedans towards the Portuguese thus early evinced itself, for we learn from the historians of the latter nation, that in consequence of their representations,⁽¹⁾ the Zamorin was induced to seize seven of De Gamma's party, and persisting in detaining them, that navigator, by way of reprisal, made prisoners of twenty poor fishermen. Faria-y-Sousa has not mentioned the exact date of the return of this first expedition to Lisbon; according to Maffei, however, it was "Sep-tembri mense anni millesimi quadringentesimi nonagesimi noni." Of one hundred and sixty-five who set sail with De Gamma from Lisbon, only sixty ever returned, the latter historian telling us, that about a hundred fell victims to diseases and the fatigues of the voyage; amongst these was Paulo de Gamma, the brother of Vasco.

⁽¹⁾ "Specie legationis explorabundum piratam advenisse, ac nulla provocatum injuria quacunq[ue] iter habuerit mare infestum reddidisse latrociniis, emporia cædibus, rapinisque vastasse." Lib. i. p. 28.

the occasion of this visit of the Franks to Malabar was, according to their own accounts, in quest of pepper lands, they being greatly desirous of establishing a trade in that spice; because, at this time, they could only procure it from those who brought it from the original exporters of the article from Malabar.* And two years after this† their

* By the almost exclusive possession of the commerce of India, the (till then) inconsiderable republic of Venice had attained an extraordinary influence among the powers of Europe; when the Portuguese made the discovery of that channel by which they eventually wrested from that state their precious traffic, and which, in return, they possessed for nearly a century, before the English, at length attracted by their success, became competitors for its profits.—*Mills*. This subject has been finely versified by Richard Cumberland:

“ Through the breach
 “ All Lusitania poured. Arabia mourned,
 “ And saw her spicy caravans return
 “ Shorn of their wealth; the Adriatic bride,
 “ Like a neglected beauty, pined away.
 “ Europe, which by her hand of late received
 “ India’s rich fruits, from the deserted mart
 “ Now turned aside, and plucked them as they grew.”

Historical Fragment.

† The Zamorin, notwithstanding Mahomedan intrigue, appears to have evinced great satisfaction at the return of the Portuguese on this occasion: “ Ad Calecutum deinde naves
 “ applicitæ, qua re contra quam plerique putarant, Zamorinus
 “ haud mediocrem lætitiâ præ se tulit, ac petenti Caprali haud
 “ gravate

first appearance, a second party of Franks arrived* in a fleet of six vessels, which, having anchored

“ gravate se in colloquium dedit. In eo colloquio quum pax et
 “ amicitia certis legibus convenisset, ædes in urbe Lusitanis
 “ ad diversandum ac negotiandum benigne attributæ : jamque
 “ Lusitana gaza exposita ; et curatoribus ad commutationem
 “ rerum a Caprale institutis, admirabili securitate sacerdotes
 “ Evangelio, reliqui mercimonio dabant operam.”—Maffei
 Historia, lib. ii. p. 315.

De Souza has erred in stating that Vasco de Gamma commanded on this second occasion, as Maffei, in mentioning the appointment of Petrus Alvarius Capralis to the command of this expedition, expressly states, that it was out of consideration for De Gamma's broken health. “ Gammæ interim requie
 “ ex longa defatigatione concessa.”—Lib. ii. p. 30.

* This is the expedition of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who is described by Maffei as “ Claro æque genere ac virtute vir,” and which was despatched in consequence of the report given by De Gamma and his comrades of the riches of India. He set sail from Portugal in the year 1500, in command of thirteen ships, “ quæ alvei magnitudine, et hominum frequentia, et
 “ onerum æstimatione, haud exiguas Lusitani regni opes, et
 “ copias indicarent.” Of these vessels, however, of which the historian here speaks with so much national pride, half only, from a succession of storms and other misfortunes, were destined to reach India. “ Ita Capralis e tredecim navium numero,
 “ cum sex duntaxat iisque laceris ac debilitatis ad Mosambi-
 “ cum accessit.”—Lib. ii. p. 34.

Maffei states the number of fighting men on board this fleet at fifteen ; De Souza at twelve hundred ; amongst whom, he says, were eight Franciscan friars. The instructions given to their leader

off Calicut, they landed at that port, and assuming the character of traders began to engage in commerce. But no long time had elapsed before they endeavoured to persuade the agents of the Zamorin to prohibit the Mahomedans from engaging in the trade of the country, and from making voyages to the ports of Arabia, saying to them, "the advantages that you will derive from a commercial intercourse with us will greatly exceed any that they can afford you." In the same spirit also these Franks proceeded to trespass on the property of the Mahomedans, and to oppress their commerce.* Now,

leader appear very explicit; the latter historian informing us that in substance they were "to begin by preaching, and if that failed, to proceed to the decision of the sword." Maffei admits, likewise, that Cabral was commanded, "*cum nefariis Christi hostibus justum piumque susciperet bellum,*" provided the Zamorin should refuse reparation for the wrongs suffered by De Gamma. The ecclesiastical chief of the expedition was "*egregie pius doctusque theologus, Henricus Franciscanus;*" who was sent "*partim ad prædicandum ethnicis evangelium, partim ad Christianorum animos procurandos.*" Lib. ii. p. 29.

* The Portuguese accounts of this matter differ materially from those here given by our author. After mentioning the hospitable reception by the Zamorin of De Gamma and his companions, Maffei says: "*His rebus, ut fit, extemplo vulgatis cum cæteri mercatores tum Saraceni præcipue atque Arabes*"
 " *magnopere*

in consequence of this conduct on the part of the Franks, the Zamorin having resolved upon their destruction, he attacked them and put to death sixty or seventy men of their party,* the rest

“ magnopere commoventur, ac præter capitale in Christianos
 “ odium, rati etiam, quod res erat, quantum ad Lusitanorum com-
 “ mercia accederet, tantum de suis lucris imminui, et si prævali-
 “ dus manceps in eam negotiationem se interponeret, nihil sibi
 “ ad quæstum et navigationem loci relictum iri; institutam
 “ et coalescentem novam societatem omni conatu dirimere
 “ instituunt.”—Lib. i. p. 28.

That an early and mutual jealousy should have been entertained by the Mahomedans and Portuguese of one another is natural; for when was it ever known that one body of intruders could patiently endure the presence of another, or consent to a division of those spoils, which they had before viewed as exclusively their own! De Souza and Osorius also make the first aggression to have been on the part of the Mahomedans of Mecca, who, they say, not only did all in their power to depress the trade of the Portuguese, but, from the time of De Gamma's arrival, held secret conferences, resolving upon their destruction, it being their anxious desire that not one man might return, so that European nations, from their fate, might be deterred from any further attempts at an intercourse with India.

* This sudden attack on the part of the Zamorin is thus described by Maffei: “ Neque ita multo post, assiduis Ma-
 “ hometanorum stimulis, et Nairum aliquot ac principum aucto-
 “ ritate compulsa; et quod caput est, præsentis prædæ illecta
 “ dulcedine, vel inscio, vel consentiente, certe non prohibente
 “ Rege,

escaping by flying to their vessels, from which they opened a fire upon the people on the shore, who in return cannonaded them. Shortly after this event they sailed into the harbour of Cochin,* and imposing themselves upon its inhabitants as an inoffensive and honest race, they succeeded in building a mud fort† at that place,

“ Rege, subito arreptis armis, Lusitanorum diversorium aggreditur ; ibi ingenti clamore ac tumultu excitato, claustra convellere, fores effringere, per vim conatur irrumpere. Nostri, quamquam improvise malo perterriti, e fenestris tamen tectisque fortiter primos barbarorum impetus repulere ; sed perfosso demum, dirutoque pariete, vis ac numerus ultra sustineri non potuit ; hostium ad quattuor millia telis ac sagittis instructa convenerant. Lusitani, septuaginta non amplius, in hospitio versabantur ; ex iis ad quinquaginta partim capti, partim interfecti, reliqui male multati, in iis, Henricus antistes cum sodalibus quattuor, multis acceptis vulneribus, ad classem vix evasere.”—Lib. ii. p. 35.

* According to the historian last quoted, in the month of December 1500, they were received by the Rajah (Trimumpara, or Perampadapil) with much hospitality, he desiring to conciliate them, and regarding them as valuable allies against the Zamorin, of whose power he was (as before stated) greatly jealous. Osorius mentions that a strong house in Cochin was allotted by him as a factory for the Portuguese, and a treaty of commerce solemnly concluded.—Osorius Silvensis de Rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ gestis.

† Fra Paolino, in his account of Cochin, says: “ This beautiful city was built by the Portuguese in the tenth year after
“ the

which was the first piece of fortification that was constructed by them in India. And after taking up their dwelling in this building, they proceeded to demolish the mosque which stood on the sea-shore at Cochin, erecting in its place a Christian church,* whilst they imposed the labour of

“ the arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut.” This would have been in the year 1508; now it is certain, from the accounts of Maffei and others, that the fort of Cochin (the first erected by the Portuguese in India) was built by Albuquerque in 1503. It is possible that the good Carmelite father dates the building of the fort from the time of the completion of the cathedral, to the profanation of which by Peter van Bitter (who turned it into a warehouse for the Dutch East-India Company in 1663) he so feelingly alludes.

* It is probably of this church that Maffei speaks in the following passage: “Ejus accessu (Alphonsi Albuquerquei) Lusitanis Indisque certatim insudantibus, brevi consummatum castellum, et in eo templum Diuo Barptolemæo dicatum est; ut magno utrumque consilio ac pietate, sic modico sumptu elegantiaque.”—Lib. ii. p. 42. Osorius has recorded it of the Portuguese governor above alluded to (Albuquerque), that when dying, he desired the latter part of the gospel of St. John to be repeatedly read over to him. He died of chagrin and disappointment at the unworthy treatment he had received from his sovereign; his bones were afterwards removed to Portugal, in the same spirit in which epitaphs were raised to the memory of Camoens after his death, whilst in life he was suffered to languish in poverty and want. The fate of Columbus forms another parallel case of Lusitanian gratitude of this posthumous kind.

building this edifice upon the inhabitants of Cochin. A.D. 1503. Moreover, having ingratiated themselves with the people of Cannanore,* these Franks contrived to erect a fort there also, employing the natives of that town in its construction. These fortifications completed, and having laden their vessels with pepper and ginger, they set sail for the countries of Europe, for, as has been before remarked, a commerce in those spices was their chief object in traversing so vast a distance; and at the expiration of a year† another party of Franks returned

* As the trade at Cannanore, with Bengal, Arabia, and Sumatra, has always been considerable, the learned German, Dr. Forster, would conjecture that the 'Ελλάγκων or 'Ελίγκων of Ptolemy (as an emporium or place of trade) must have been near this place; whilst Fra Paolino suggests an opinion that the sea-robbers mentioned by Pliny, Adrian, and Ptolemy, as existing in this part of India, must have been the Malabar pirates (or Molaudis, as he terms them) who lived about Mount Illi, or Delhi. With regard to the manner in which the Portuguese obtained a footing at Cannanore, the Sheikh does not agree with his cotemporary Maffei, who declares they were invited there. "Dum hæc ad Cocinum geruntur, legati a " duobus finitimis Regibus, Colani et Cananoris (regionum " et oppidorum ea nomina sunt) Caprali, si ad eorum portus " commeare vellet, commercium et amicitiam longe optimis " conditionibus detulere."—Lib. ii. p. 35.

† Criminals convicted of capital crimes usually formed part of these expeditions. Osorius says: " Erant enim in ea classe
" decem

in a fleet of four vessels;* and landing as before at Cochin and Cannanore, and taking in pepper and ginger at those ports, they again set sail for their own country. About two years after this a larger party of from eighteen to twenty-two ships† arrived at the forts above-named, and having freighted their vessels with spice and such other

“decem homines capite damnati, quibus fuerat ea lege vita
 “concessa, ut quibuscumque in locis a Gama relictis fuissent,
 “regiones lustrarent hominumque mores et instituta cognos-
 “cerent.”

“With Gama sailed a bold adventurous band,

“Whose headlong rage had urged the guilty hand.

“Stern justice for their crimes had asked their blood.”

Mickle's Lusiad.

* “Eodem anno (1504) incertus quo loco res esset Indica,
 “Emmanuel Joannem Novam Callæcum, notæ fortitudinis et
 “prudentiæ virum, cum navibus quattuor, Caprali subsidio
 “miserat.”—Maffei's Historia, Lib. ii. p. 36. De Souza ascribes
 to this navigator the discovery of the island of St. Helena.
 He says that John de Nova (as he styles him) sailed from
 Lisbon, in March 1501.

† “Interea Emmanuel cognitis rebus in India gestis, classem
 “paravit navium viginti.”—Maffei's Historia, lib. ii. p. 37. The
 scrupulous nicety of the Sheikh in regard to numbers is here
 shewn. The fleet, he says, consisted of from eighteen to twenty-
 two ships; according to Maffei and De Souza there were
 twenty sail. Vasco de Gamma again commanded on this expe-
 dition, which may be considered the fourth undertaken by the
 Portuguese in India.

articles of merchandize as the country afforded, they returned to Europe; in this manner their commerce became each year more enlarged, and of greater importance. At this time, however, the Zamorin, having resolved to make a descent upon Cochin,* proceeded against it, carrying devastation in his course; thus following the usage of war amongst these nations from time immemorial. And in this expedition two or three of the Rays, or principal persons of Cochin, were slain, when, satisfied with his success, the Zamorin returned to Calicut. With regard to the cause of this act of hostility on his part, he was provoked to it in consequence of the Franks having been allowed by the people of Cochin to supplant the Akhuns, having been elected also to the sovereignty of Cochin,† with the territories subject to it, in its

* The Rajahs of Cochin and Calicut were (says Fra Paolino) the only two of the chieftains of Malabar who had a right, as a token of their unlimited power, to have carried before them the branch of a cocoa-nut tree bound round with a bandage at the lower end and quite free at the top. In consequence of this equality of privilege, they were always at enmity with each other, and the Zamorin, from the support which he received from the Mahomedan merchants at Calicut, was, until the arrival of the Portuguese, generally victorious.

† That the Portuguese had not usurped the nominal sovereignty, at least, the following passage will shew: "Ac
" Trimumparam

vicinity, as much to the prejudice of the rights of their fellow-countrymen, as in opposition to all their ancient regulations of sacred and venerable authority, which fixed the line of succession, according to seniority, amongst the chiefs of their own country, and to whom it was confined. The Franks having succeeded in thus supplanting the rightful heirs, by means of their intrigues at Cochin, where they had firmly established their influence, and were uniformly treated by its inhabitants with consideration and respect: whilst, on many occasions, they had received their support against their enemies, and when oppressed by necessities.* These people were also assisted

“ Trimumparam Emmanuelis nomine tum verbis amicissimis
 “ erectum animatumque, tum ad regiam tuendam personam
 “ præsentì pecunia sublevatum, cæso et fugato Calecutano
 “ presidio, in Regnum Cocini summa omnium gratulatione
 “ restituit.”—Maffei History, lib. ii. p. 43.

* Our author has omitted to remark, however, that the Portuguese, by the timely succour which they afforded to the Rajah of Cochin, had been the instruments of his restoration, having replaced him upon his throne after he had been driven from it by his implacable enemy the Zamorin. For this service he was indebted to Francis Albuquerque, who relieved him after he had been basely deserted by Vincent Lodre. According to the Portuguese historians, when Trimumpara (the king of Cochin) saw the fleet of Albuquerque coming to his relief, he cried out “ Portugal, Portugal !” and ran in an extasy
 to

by the inhabitants of Cochin with money, and had a per-centage of a tenth upon all their exports assigned to them; from which connexion their power became greatly increased. And a year after the arrival of the fleet of about twenty vessels above alluded to, another consisting of ten ships made its appearance, of which number seven had left Europe in that year, whilst the other three had sailed for Malabar the year before, in company with the larger fleet of twenty ships; but having from some cause been retarded in their passage, they only arrived now in company with the second fleet of seven ships; which last having laden quickly, shortly set out again upon their homeward voyage. But the three vessels, whose passage out had been so delayed, continuing at anchor at Cochin, the Zamorin formed a design of seizing upon them; and collected, with this view, an army of nearly one hundred thousand Nairs, together with a large body of Mahomedans. As he was unable, however, to approach these vessels sufficiently near to attack them by land, his Mahomedan allies having procured from the inhabitants of Fundreeah three dows, sailed out in

to the strand. Besides restoring him to his throne, Albuquerque presented him with 10,000 ducats: a masterly piece of policy, considering the situation in which he stood.

them to engage the enemy, when some of them (the former) received martyrdom.* And on the following day, the people of Fundreeah and Ba-leenkat embarking in four, and the people of Fundreeah and Calicut in three dows, proceeded to renew the attack upon the ships of the Franks, and the battle between them raged fiercely. Of the Mahomedans, however, none suffered martyrdom on this occasion; indeed, in consequence of the setting in of the rainy season, the engagement was not decisive on either side, and the Zamorin, with all those that had accompanied him, returned to his seat of government (God be praised!) in all safety.† As for the Franks, proceeding on the

* The Sheikh throughout his history, when he mentions the death of any of his brethren in their attacks against the Portuguese, uses the Arabic word *استشهد* which may be rendered rather as aspiring to martyrdom than as having suffered it (it being the tenth conjugation of the verb which implies "petition"). His meaning however is, that they quaffed the sherbet of martyrdom, as his cotemporary Ferishta would have expressed it; a fate, of the happiness of which it has been seen he would persuade his brethren, in the first of his three introductory chapters.

† Throughout the whole of this passage the Sheikh might be charged (if such a charge were not inconsistent with the evident gravity and simplicity of his character) with a disposition to banter his countrymen. For instance, first, the manner in which he mentions the death of those who on the first day
of

same system, they every year imported from Europe large fleets filled with men and treasure, making their returns in cargoes of pepper and ginger, and the other produce of Malabar. Now it should be known, that after the Franks had established themselves in Cochin and Cannanore, and

of the engagement received martyrdom ; as if he had said, for *their pains!* Then, his remark upon their safety on the second day, when no candidates for it amongst "the faithful" seem to have been found ; and, lastly, the grave piece of congratulation that he offers them and their 100,000 comrades upon having escaped with their lives on this occasion ! The chances of safety to the allies could not have been very problematical, considering that in this desperate expedition there were a lac of fighting men (for the Nairs should be all this by birth) against three poor merchantmen ! It is to this attack that Sousa must allude when he states, that in the year 1503, the Zamorin attacked the Portuguese at Cochin with fifty thousand men, both by land and sea. According to him, however, the Zamorin's fleet on this occasion amounted to eighty vessels of various descriptions, besides fire-ships. Of these last Maffei also makes mention : "*Ardentes primum pyræ ad Christianas " naves inflammandas immissæ ; quibus accessu prohibitis " et in conspectu omnium frustra consumptis.*"—Lib. ii. p. 46.

As the Sheikh has stated the land force at double what the Portuguese historian describes it to have been, his apparent disingenuousness in suppressing the existence of the fleet (except the few dows in which his poor brethren were so badly treated) will perhaps be overlooked.

had settled in those towns, the inhabitants, with all their dependents, became subject to these foreigners, engaged in the arts of navigation, and in maritime employments,* making voyages of trade under the protection of passes from the Franks; every vessel, however small, being provided with a distinct pass, and this with a view to the general security of all. And upon each of these passes a certain fee was fixed, on the payment of which the pass was delivered to the master of the vessel, when about to proceed on his voyage. Now the Franks, in imposing this toll, caused it to appear that it would prove in its consequences a source of advantage to these people, thus to induce them to submit to it; whilst to enforce its payment, if they fell in with any vessel, in which this their letter of marque, or pass, was not to be found, they

* Maffei^{us} very often makes mention of a "vectigal" (or toll) or customs of freights, exacted from the Mahomedans; this probably was the hateful imposition alluded to by the Sheikh. According to Osorius, the Portuguese permitted no ship to sail without one of their passports; whilst Faria says that, with a refinement of oppression, the Portuguese would make the Moorish vessels carry their own letters of condemnation, the passport not unfrequently running, "The owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor; I desire the first Portuguese captain to whom this is shewn, may make a prize of her!"

would invariably make a seizure both of the ship, its crew, and its cargo! In consequence of this tyrannical conduct, the Zamorin and his subjects and dependents were driven to a system of retaliative warfare, in which that prince expended vast treasures. And from the same cause, both himself and his people becoming greatly straightened and reduced, he sent ambassadors to certain Mahomedan princes to ask their assistance; all of whom however neglected to afford him any, except the sultan of Guzerat, Sultan Mahmood Shah,* the father of that excellent monarch Sultan Mozuffur Shah; and Adil Shah,† who was the grandfather of Alee-Adil-Shah (upon both of whom may the favour of God for ever dwell!), who caused some

* The sixth in succession of the kings of Guzerat, and who was succeeded by his son Mozuffur Shah II.

† Yoosuf Adil-Shah, the founder of the Adil-Shahy dynasty of Bejapoor. It would seem from Maffei, that the Zamorin did not confine his solicitations to the Mahomedan princes only: "Interea Calecutanus et Arabs, suæ uterque gentis ac sectæ populos regesque ad arma instigare; accusantes ignaviam, quod abditi intra mœnia et portus alienigenas homines, natura, sermone legibus, institutis multo magis quam maris atque terrarum intervallo disjunctos, tam diu vagari toto pæne Oriente populabundos, neque classes modo, sed jam si Diis placeret, colonias quoque in Asiam arbitratu suo mittere paterentur."—Lib. iv. p. 69.

vessels and grabs to be equipped, but which were eventually found unfit for proceeding to sea. Besides these princes, the sultan of Egypt, Kansoo,* the Phœnician, also evinced a friendly disposition towards the Zamorin, having despatched the emir Hossein, one of his nobles, with some troops and thirteen grabs to assist him ; who having reached the port of Diu† in Guzerat, sailed thence to the port of Shei-ool.‡ And in company with the emir was king Ayass,|| the Naib of Diu, when they fell in with and engaged certain vessels of the Franks ;§ capturing the largest of them, and

* From Maffei we learn also, that the Sultan of Cambia or Guzerat, ("populi incertum unde Guzaratus appellantur,") and the Egyptian "Campson" (as he calls him), were induced to furnish the Zamorin with some troops and ships, in consequence of his earnest appeal to them on this occasion.

† This person our Jesuit author describes thus: "Expe-
ditioni præerat Hocenus," (Sousa calls him *Hashim*; both are whimsical ways enough of writing Hossein) "Persa, qui
"patria lingua Mir (Emir) hoc est dux sive præfectus."—Lib.
iv. p. 70.

‡ An island lying off the southern extremity of Guzerat. It was obtained possession of by the Portuguese A.D. 1515. Maffei also tracks Hocenus (as he calls him) to this port: "Ad insulam et oppidum oræ Cambaicæ seu Patalenæ Dium
"adduxit."—Lib. iv. p. 70.

|| Called by the Portuguese, "mullik (or king) Eiaz."

§ This was the battle in which Don Lorenzo Almeida was

obtaining a complete victory. After this success the emir returned with his fleet of grabs to Diu,

slain, his ship having, chiefly from an accident, fallen into the hands of the Turks. "In eo tumultu forte ita accidit, ut "in scissis omnibus, majoris formæ ferrea pila sub ipsum clavum "adacta perincommodo loco navem Almeidae perforaret." Maffei Hist. lib. iv. p. 72. The death of Almeida, who was the son of the viceroy of Goa (Don Francisco Almeida), added to the loss of his ship, probably occasioned the defeat which the Portuguese suffered on this occasion. According to Sousa, their loss in men was also heavy, one hundred and forty having been slain. From that historian also we learn that the Mahomedan admiral sent a letter of condolence to Almeida's father at Goa; but this piece of generous sympathy does not (if Maffei says true) appear to have softened the viceroy's desire for revenge: "Ardebat cupiditate prætor, filii necis, "antequam e provincia discederet, ulciscendæ." In his harangue also to the fleet (which is a very beautiful specimen of eloquence) he dwells chiefly upon the death of his son: "Nunc quando et Deum ipsum cujus agitur causa propitium "ut spero et classem ita ornatam habemus, ut nihil merito "desiderari, a quopiam possit; est sane, cur celso, et erecto "animo ad ulciscendam Lameritii, et popularium necem, sine "mora pergamus, verumtamen, antequam injuriam hanc bello "persequimur, delenda nobis est macula magno meo cum dolore jam ante suscepta."—Maffei, lib. iv. p. 75. He speaks elsewhere also of his "domestici doloris causa." That he amply revenged his son's death will appear hereafter; but that he tarnished his revenge by ferociously massacreing all the Turkish prisoners made by him in an action that occurred shortly after, we learn from his own countrymen.

in which fort he laid up his vessels during the rainy months; and when these were at an end, a reinforcement of nearly forty grabs, despatched by the Zamorin, joined Hossein. These vessels however were small, having been collected in the territories of that chief, and wherever they could be found. But the Franks (whom may God Almighty consign to destruction!), when they heard of the emir being at anchor at Diu, made ready for action, and put to sea in a fleet of nearly twenty ships;* and sailing for that port and appearing before it, the emir Hossein, with all the grabs in

* Don Francisco Almeida, on his being superseded as viceroy by Alphonso Albuquerque (A.D. 1508), set sail from Goa with a fleet of nineteen vessels, having on board sixteen hundred men (of whom Faria-y-Sousa tells us eight hundred were natives), designing to attack the Mahomedans. After landing at Diu, he sailed to the port of Diu, where he fell in with the Turkish fleet, and an action ensuing, the Portuguese were victorious. Sousa says that "vast numbers of books were found in the captured vessels of the Turks. All the prisoners were put to death. The Naib of Diu having sent one of his nobles to congratulate the Portuguese on their victory, a truce was in consequence concluded with him, the captured cannon being delivered over to the king of Guzerat." The loss of the Portuguese seems to have been very small, as Maffei says, "*Mammaluci fere omnes aut capti aut interfecti; e nostris duo et triginta cecidere; vulnerati, missilibus maxime, plus trecenti.*" Lib. iv. p. 77. It was now that

his company, together with those of the Malabarians and king Ayass, instantly sailed out to sea, the emir not waiting to make any preparation for the encounter; and the Franks (the curse of God rest on them!) waited for their attack, chiefly directing their efforts against the grabs of the emir, of which they shortly captured several, the remainder escaping only by flight; whilst these cursed interlopers sailed away victorious! such being the decree of God most high, and such his will which is indisputable, and against which nothing can avail. As for the emir, he* with some of his companions, and the grabs of king Ayass, and the Malabarians, escaped in safety. After this, returning to Egypt, he prevailed upon the Egyptian Campson to furnish for this war against the Franks twenty-two grabs of large size, and completely equipped; and in command over these was placed

“ On sea, on shore,
 “ Great Almeed triumph'd; and the rival sword
 “ Of Albuquerque, invincible in arms,
 “ Wasted the nations.”

Historical Fragment—Cumberland.

* If Maffei tells true, his flight was somewhat inglorious.
 “ Hocenus ipse ut inclinatam haud dubio pugnam animadvertit,
 “ quam occultissime sese in lembum tales ad usus paratum
 “ demisit.”—Lib. iv. p. 77.

the emir Soliman of Room, with him being associated also Hossein :* and these chiefs sailing first to the fortified port of Jeddah, afterwards proceeded to Kemran,† where the emir Hossein engaged himself in making a descent upon Arabia Felix, carrying devastation into that country.‡ But the emir Soliman, designing to proceed to the port of Aden, returned to Jeddah. At this time, however, hostilities broke out between him and Hossein ; and in consequence of the attacks of Hossein upon the lives and cities of the Moslems he left that port. But Hossein having been seized by the sultan of Arabia, was

* “ Omnibus iis præpositus cum summo imperio nobilis
 “ archipirata Solimanus Mitylenæus, qui tum propter latrocinia
 “ Turcicis finibus exsulabat, adjuncto legato eodem Hoceno ;
 “ quem pro Mir Hoceno, Amirasen vocabuli similitudine decepti
 “ dixere nonnulli.”—Maffei, lib. vii. p. 123. Why they could
 not have been *one* and the same person however, which the
 translator is inclined to imagine was the case, the learned his-
 torian has not told us.

† A port in the Arabian Gulf.

‡ Of this perfidy on the part of Hossein, Maffei thus
 makes mention : “ Hocenum cum navali maxime turba ad
 “ opus promovendum reliquit, ipse cum expedito milite in conti-
 “ nentem egressus oppidum Arabiæ Felicis Zebitum, duodecim
 “ ferme leucas a mari, improvise adventu cepit.”—Lib. vii.
 p. 123.

by his order drowned in the sea.* And shortly after this intelligence reached Jeddah of the occurrence of hostilities between the Egyptian Campson and the sultan Selim Shah of Room;† and also of the fatal consequences to the former in his defeat and death, and the seizure of his dominions by sultan Selim Shah‡ (peace to the remains of this unhappy prince,§ for the Lord is omnipotent!) Now on Thursday, the 22d day of the month of Ramzan,|| in the year of the Hejira

* “Comprehensum fraude Hocenum, uti opibus imperioque
“plus poterat, in vincula conjecit; dein silentio noctis pro-
“vectum triremi in alto fluctibus mergi jubet.”—Maffei, lib.
vii. p. 124.

† This prince is called by Maffei “Selymus Ottomanus
Turcarum Imperator.”

‡ “Interea ad Camaranum tristes nuntii incerto auctore
“afferuntur, Campsonem cum omnibus copiis ab Selymo Otto-
“mano deletum.”—Maffei Historia, lib. vii. p. 123.

§ The Sheikh in this and other places makes use of the mystical way of writing so often found in the Koran, employing only the initials of his words, in the manner in which the 2d chapter of the Koran begins; ALM. which is supposed to stand for *الله لطيف مجيد* “Allah Lateef Mujeed:” God is gracious and glorious.

|| This was the unfortunate expedition of Fernando Contino (or Continus, as Maffei calls him), who was slain on the occasion. It seems from the first to have been a most rash attempt.
“Continus regia absente per eos dies Zamorino, audaciter ag-

A.D. 1509. 915, the Franks made a descent upon Calicut,* committing great devastation and burning the Jamie† mosque, which was built by Nakuz Miscal; and they attacked also the palace of the Zamorin, hoping to obtain possession of it, as that prince was absent, being engaged in war in a distant part of his dominions. But the Nairs that had been left behind at Calicut having united against these invaders, made an assault upon them, and succeeded in ejecting them from the palace, killing at the same time nearly five hundred of their party; a great number also were drowned, and the few that escaped, were saved by flying on board their vessels;‡ having been entirely defeated in their de-

“ gressus, magna ex parte cæso præsidio claustrisque refractis
 “ per vim irrupit. Continus ipse dum sero suos a præda revo-
 “ cat, ab hostibus interceptus, regia oppressus, ac trucidatus,
 “ occubuit.”—Maffei Historia, lib. iv. p. 79.

* As the months in the Arabic calendar are lunar, in a few years each makes the revolution of the four seasons.

† The principal mosque answering to a Christian cathedral, in which the Friday’s خطبة “Khotbah,” or homily is read.

‡ The Sheikh, it seems, must be distrusted in his lists of killed and wounded; Maffei says, “ Periere eo die Lusitani
 “ partim hostium telis petiti, partim in fuga a suis obtecti,
 “ amplius octoginta; sauciorum numerus relatus circiter tre-
 “ centorum.” He no doubt has considered the wounded as dead men. Sousa also states the number of Portuguese

signs, by the permission of God most high. Now, both before this time and after it, they made various descents upon the dominions of the Zamorin, burning in these attacks in all nearly fifty vessels that were lying near his shores, and conferring martyrdom upon upwards of seventy of the faithful. And after the same manner they made a descent upon Aden : but its inhabitants made a stout resistance, and God sent succour to the Moslems, abandoning to destruction the Franks, who by his divine permission were put to flight; and their attempt upon this town was entirely frustrated.* Now this happened in the time of the emir Ramazan (to whose remains be peace!): and subsequently to the settlement of the Franks at Cochin and Cannanore they had conciliated the inhabitants of Quilon,† and had built a fort there ; being

who were slain on this occasion at about eighty. Amongst the wounded, he says, was Alphonso Alberquerque. January 1510, he gives as the date of this unfortunate attack.

* This was probably the unsuccessful attack of Albuquerque (A.D. 1511). Aden was taken however not long after by the Portuguese, by stratagem.

† It was at this place that Alexius Menezes, the first archbishop of Goa, opened his conference with the Christians of St. Thomas, compelling them to renounce the doctrines of Nestorius and to enter the pale of the Romish Church. Dr. Forster, regarding this forced union, justly says, " It is a real and lasting

induced to do this, as great quantities of pepper were procurable at that town, more of that spice being grown there and in its neighbourhood than in any other place.* Moreover, the Franks having

“ monument of shame for the Romish Church.” An account of the violent measures, as well as arts, used by the Romish Church to make the Nestorians unite themselves to it, is to be found in La Croze’s work on the state of Christianity in India. It is when speaking of a temple near Quilon, where the eyes of our good Carmelite friar had been justly offended by some vile orgies that were carried on before him, and for a participation in which he had got some Christian fishermen a severe beating before the church door, as a warning to other Christians not to participate in such abominations in future, that his German translator, Dr. Forster, has the following reflection, in which severity and humour are happily combined: “ This conduct
 “ of Fra Paolino seems rather un-evangelical and harsh, and to
 “ have been somewhat in the style of Boanerges, or those sons
 “ of thunder who wished to call down fire immediately from
 “ heaven. Our zealous monk procured full power from the
 “ magistrate in order to execute his inquisitorial sentence ; this
 “ no doubt cost him a considerable sum of money, and must
 “ have been charged under the head of secret service. Instead
 “ of advice and admonition the monk administered a sound
 “ beating ; this may properly be called obeying the command,
 “ ‘ compelle illos intrare.’ The other means by which the
 “ Indians are converted to the Catholic religion are no doubt
 “ of the same kind as this church discipline.”

* Quilon was formerly one of the most considerable places on the Malabar coast ; but since the digging of the canal at Aleppi, *that* place has become the greater pepper mart.

commenced hostilities against the inhabitants of Goa, and captured that place, proceeded to take possession of it. Now this port was one of those that belonged to Adil-Shah (peace to his remains!); notwithstanding this, however, the Franks having seized upon it, made choice of it for their seat of government in India, proceeding to exercise rule over it. But Adil-Shah attacking these intruders,* repulsed them; he in turn making it a rallying place for Islamism. Subsequently the Franks (the curse of God rest on them!) made preparations for a second attack upon Goa, and proceeding against it with a vast armament and assaulting it, they at last captured it. It is said, however, that they bribed over to their interests some of its principal

* In the year 915 the Christians surprised the town of Goa, and put to death the governor, with many Mussulmans. Upon intelligence of this, Yoosuf Adil Shah with 3,000 chosen men (part Dekhanies, and part foreigners) marched with such expedition that he came upon the Europeans unawares, retook the fort, and put many to death, but some made their escape in their ships out to sea (Ferishta). Albuquerque first took Goa in February 1510, in which, according to Sousa, were found vast quantities of cannon and military stores. In May in the same year it was retaken after a siege of twenty days; but a reinforcement of thirteen ships arriving from Europe, he again proceeded against it and recaptured it. Adil-Shah here mentioned was the grandfather of Alee Adil-Shah.

inhabitants, in which case its capture was not a feat of much difficulty;* and the Franks, on thus re-obtaining possession of Goa, hastened to construct around it extensive fortifications of vast height. After their acquisition of this place, their power became greatly increased, every day receiving some accession to it : for the Lord as he wills, so indeed does he bring to pass !

* Kummal Khan, regent during the minority of Ismael Adil-Shah, made peace with the Europeans (who after the return of Adil-Shah to Bijapoor had again besieged Goa, and regained it by giving large bribes to the governor), consenting to their retention of Goa on condition of their remaining contented with the island alone, and not molesting the neighbouring towns and districts (Ferishta). Maffei's account agrees with the above, except that he ascribes the recapture of the place to the gallantry and generalship of Albuquerque, neither he nor Sousa having any mention of any bribes being given on the occasion. As the force of the Portuguese amounted to twenty-three vessels and 1,500 soldiers, besides the fleet of Madhoo Row, the admiral of Timoja, who assisted at its capture, it is not likely that treachery was necessary, or the Portuguese might be believed to have had recourse to it.

SECTION II.

Recounting some of the wicked acts of which the Franks were guilty.

I would have it understood, that the Mahomedans of Malabar formerly lived in great comfort and tranquillity, in consequence of their abstaining from exercising any oppression towards the people of the country; as well as from the consideration which they invariably evinced for the ancient usages of the population of Malabar, and from the unrestricted intercourse of kindness which they preserved with them. Subsequently, however, they were guilty of ingratitude towards God, forgetting the blessings that they enjoyed; going astray, and becoming divided into schisms. On this account, therefore, did God bring down upon them the people of Europe, the Franks, Christians by religion (whom may Almighty God confound!), who began to oppress the Mahomedans, and to bring ruin amongst them; being guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous, such indeed as are beyond the power of description :* they having made the Mahome-

* That the Portuguese were guilty of the greatest excesses their own historians admit. Fra Paolino alludes to a work entitled "Istoria della Vita e Fatti illustri del ven. Monsign.

dans to be a jest and laughing-stock ; displaying towards them the greatest contempt ; employing them to draw water from the wells, and in other menial employments ; spitting in their faces and upon their persons ; hindering them on their journeys, particularly when proceeding on pilgrimages to Mecca ;* destroying their property ; burning

“ Giuseppe di S. Maria di Sebastiani,” (Roma 1719), in which he says these excesses are particularly described. Whilst the Carmelite father, however, admits his own nation’s guilt in this matter, he would not have it supposed that he acquits others in an equal degree, for he has the following severe reflection : “ Avarice, insolence, dishonesty, infidelity, and injustice, will always bring kingdoms and states to destruction ; and if there be any truth in this observation, some other colonies, perhaps, will not long remain in the hands of Europeans ;” as a little before this, he speaks with horror of an unmarried Dutch tobacconist at Cochin who kept a whole dozen of females, and yet asserted that it was improper in the Roman Catholic clergy not to marry. It is probable that his insinuation was chiefly intended against the Dutch ; at the same time that he also meant it, in a modified degree, for the Protestant English.

* The following passage of Maffei confirms this charge against the Portuguese : “ Inde cum in Malabares trajecisset, ingentem Saracenorum navem et militibus et omnium telorum genere paratissimam, Calecuti redeuntem expugnat : in ea Mahometani permulti interempti, Mecum, ad pseudo-prophetæ sepulcrum superstitionis causa peregrinantes : at pueri ex eadem secta complures Christianis præceptis imbuti,

their dwellings and mosques ; seizing their ships ; defacing and treading under foot their archives and writings ; burning their records ; profaning the sanctuaries of their mosques ; ever striving to make the professors of Islamism apostates from their creed, and worshippers of their crucifixes, and seeking, by bribes of money, to induce them to this apostacy. Moreover, decking out their women with jewels and fine clothing, in order to lead away and entice after them the women of the Mahomedans ; slaying also the pilgrims to Mecca and all who embraced Islamism, and practising upon them all kinds of cruelties ;* openly uttering execrations

“ baptizatique sunt : quos Gamma Olisipone postea templi “ Bethleemitici ministerio dedicavit.”—Lib. ii. p. 37. Sousa also mentions Vasco de Gama’s having fallen in with a large ship belonging to the sultan of Egypt, on board of which were two hundred and eighty persons chiefly pilgrims to Mecca. As they refused, he says, to allow the Portuguese fleet to take possession of the vessel, and made a desperate resistance, every person on board was put to death, twenty children only having been spared who were afterwards baptized. These are the “ pueri,” above alluded to by Maffei.

* M. Dellon, in his account of the inquisition of Goa, details a system of atrocities practised by that institution, which makes the reader’s heart boil with indignation against the nation and government that could uphold so diabolical an establishment.—The inquisition was established at Goa about 1560, by Don Constantine de Braganza.—Mickle says sarcastically of that

upon the Prophet of God (upon whom may the divine favour and grace for ever rest!), confining his followers, and incarcerating them. Further, binding them with ponderous shackles, and exposing them in the markets for sale, after the manner that slaves are sold; and when so exposed, torturing them with all sorts of painful inflictions, in order to exact more from them for their freedom. Huddling them together into a dark,* noisome, and horrible building; and, when performing the ablutions directed by their law, beating them with slippers;† torturing them with fire; selling and making slaves of some, and harassing others with

viceroy—"He was remarkable for his affability and politeness, " and during his administration the inquisition was established " at Goa."

* Of the prison of the Ordinary, i.e. of the Archbishop of Goa (called by the Portuguese "algowar" and which was used as a kind of Bridewell to the holy inquisition), M. Dellon (who was its victim) says:—"This prison was more foul, dark, " and horrible than any one I had seen, and I doubt whether " there can be one so nauseous and appalling."—Whilst immured within it, this author was informed that, some years before, about fifty Malabar pirates having been taken and thrown into this prison, the horrible famine which they suffered induced forty of their number to strangle themselves with the linen of their turbans.

† To a Mahomedan, the most degrading species of chastisement.

disgusting employments: in short, in their whole treatment of the Mahomedans, they proved themselves to be devoid of all compassion! In addition to this system of persecution, also, these Franks sallying forth in the directions of Guzerat, the Conkan, and Malabar, and towards the coast of Arabia, would there lie in wait for the purpose of intercepting vessels: in this way, they iniquitously acquired vast wealth and made numerous prisoners. For, how many women of noble birth, thus made captive, did they not incarcerate, afterwards violating their persons, for the production of Christian children, who were brought up enemies to the religion of God (Islamism), and taught to oppress its professors! How many noble Seids, too, and learned and worthy men, did they not imprison and persecute even unto death! How many Moslems, both men and women, did they not compel to embrace Christianity!* And how many acts of this kind, atro-

* ————— Close in the rear

Of conquest march'd the motley Papal host,
 Monks of all colours, brotherhoods, and names;
 Frowning they rear'd the cross, th'affrighted tribes
 Look'd up aghast, and whilst the cannon's mouth
 Thunder'd obedience, dropt th'unwilling knee
 In trembling adoration of a God,
 Whom, as by nature tutored in his works
 They saw, and only in his mercy knew.

Historical Fragment, Cumberland.

cious and wicked, the enumeration of which would require volumes, did they not commit! May the all gracious and merciful God consign them to eternal destruction! For sorely did they oppress the faithful, striving all of them, the great and powerful, and both the old and young, to eradicate the Mahomedan religion, and to bring over its followers to Christianity* (may God ever defend us

* Although the Sheikh has not told us so, still it is certain that the Mahomedans of Malabar were, after all, the first aggressors. For, before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, Fra Paolino tells us that the Nestorians or Christians of St. Thomas had observed, to their great sorrow, that their mortal enemies the Arabs were always acquiring more influence, and that they were gradually endeavouring to get the chief power into their hands, on which account (and from the persecutions that they suffered from them) they retired from Canara and various other provinces belonging to the Zamorin, and established themselves in the territories of the king of Cochin.—They were also driven to choose from among their number a king, who was called “Beliaite” and who was obliged to engage that he would defend them from the Mahomedans as well as the Pagans.—The barefooted father, however, appears to regard these Nestorians almost in the same light as the Pagans. He describes their Cattanars or priests as ignorant and proud, and as living like irrational animals. Of one of them he tells the following anecdote, which he gives as a specimen of their morality:—“The christians of St. Thomas are accustomed to abstain from their wives during Lent; a certain female Christian having asked her Cattanar why this custom had been

from such a calamity). Notwithstanding all this, however, they preserved an outward shew of peace towards the Mahomedans, in consequence of their being compelled to dwell amongst them; since the chief part of the population of the sea-ports consisted of Mahomedans. Now, as it has been before related, when the Franks, on their first arrival, beheld the Mahomedans dwelling at Cochin, and observed their condition in that place; how that, up to that time, they had in no way altered in appearance or at all swerved from their former religious faith and customs, they would have sought to extinguish the light of God by their calumnious insinuations. But it will never be permitted by the Almighty, that infidels should obscure the rays of divine truth. For when their chieftain, haranguing the Ray of Cochin, said to him, “ Drive forth the Mahomedans from Cochin, “ for the advantage that you derive from them is “ inconsiderable, compared to what you will obtain from an intercourse with us;” he answered

“ introduced, the priest replied :—‘ That it was established by “ the church in order that the wives of the Christians during the “ above period, might sleep with the Cattanars.’” There is a little monkish wickedness in this story, probably, but whoever has passed any time amongst the Cattanars of Malabar will hardly believe it destitute of all truth.

him : “ These have been our subjects for a length
“ of time, and have contributed to the building of
“ our city ; how, therefore, is it possible that we
“ should now eject them ? ” Lastly, it is worthy
of remark, that the Franks entertain antipathy
and hatred only towards Mahomedans, and to
their creed alone ; evincing no dislike towards the
Nairs, and other Pagans of a similar description.*

SECTION III.

*Regarding the Treaty entered into between the Zamorin and the
Franks. Giving an account, also, of the construction, by the
latter, of a fort at Calicut.*

Now, in consequence of the length of time
during which hostilities had been carried on be-
tween the Franks and the Zamorin, the treasures
and resources of that chieftain became entirely
exhausted, and the Mahomedans reduced to the
last extremity ; upon the death of that chief-

* Here the Sheikh states what was not the case, since of the
victims of Auto-da-fés at Goa the greater part, according to
M. Dellon, were usually Hindoos. That the hatred of the
Portuguese towards the Mahomedans was more inveterate
than towards any other class of people is true ; and it was so
chiefly because they found in them the most obstinate and
formidable opponents.

tain, his successor resolved upon peace with the Franks.* And he was chiefly induced to this from the desire that his Mahomedan subjects should enjoy the same freedom of trade that the people of Cochin and Cannanore possessed, and so recover from the poverty and decay into which they had fallen. For this and other reasons, then, he entered into a treaty with the Franks, by which he consented to their erecting a fort in Calicut, on the condition that his subjects should be at liberty to navigate four vessels every year to the Arabian continent, and to the ports of Jeddah and Aden. This pacification concluded, these vagabonds, on the one hand, set about building their fortifications, constructing them with great solidity; whilst the subjects of the Zamorin,† on the other, made their preparations for despatching four ships to the Arabian coast (these being laden

* The Zamorin appears himself to have made peace with the Portuguese. “Eodem tempore Zamorinus, *post factam cum Lusitano pacem*, emoritur.” Maffei adds, speaking of his successor, “Non modo pacem firmavit, sed etiam stipendiarium “se fieri voluit Lusitani regis.” Lib. v. p. 102.

† “Ac simul, arci ad Calecutum exstruendæ magna ejusdem “voluntate admoti cum machinis fabri, et opus, adhibita “diligentia brevi surrexit: impositoque præsidio commercium “cum Lusitanis fremente Saraceno renovatum est.” Maffei Hist. Lib. v. p. 102.

with pepper and ginger), and commenced trading to Guzerat and other foreign ports, carrying with them passes from the Franks, as the traders of other states did, *viz.* the people of Cannanore and Cochin; and this accommodation took place in the year of A.D. 1514-15. the Hijra 920 or 921. On the return, however, to Calicut of the first four ships from their voyage to Arabia, the Franks, having in this interval completed their fortifications, forbade the subjects of the Zamorin from further trading to the Arabian continent, prohibiting also their exporting either pepper or ginger; in this manner seeking to secure for themselves a monopoly of this trade; and so rigidly enforcing their embargo upon it, that if any even the smallest quantity of either of the above-named spices was discovered in any vessels but their own, they made seizure of them, and condemned their cargoes.* Notwithstanding this aggravated tyranny and oppression towards

* Pepper and cardamums, according to Fra Paolino, have always belonged to the royal revenues, and no private person was allowed to trade in these articles. Formerly (he says) those who smuggled them out of the country had their noses and ears cut off; but at present (about sixty years ago) they are punished only with imprisonment. The Sheikh suppresses the mention of all barbarity emanating from his countrymen and their Pagan allies, probably with the view of placing the undoubted tyranny of the Portuguese in a stronger light.

the Mahomedans and others, the Zamorin* continued true to the treaty he had made with them, chiefly from a dread of their evil practices. Secretly, however, the Mahomedans despatched messengers to the several neighbouring princes, endeavouring to engage them to unite with them in hostilities against the Franks, but without success; since it was not so willed by God most High.† But may the displeasure of the Almighty descend on those treacherous and deceitful people, who, being informed of this circumstance, conspired against the Mahomedans, and betrayed the secret to their enemies in this time of need and of great peril. And when this attempt of the Mahomedans became known, the Franks attacked them furiously; all of them being actuated by the same spirit, and obeying, to the letter, the order‡ of their superiors, notwithstanding the dis-

* This was the second Zamorin who is called by Maffei "Naubeaderinus," and was, according to him, the nephew of the deceased Rajah.

† The Mahomedan princes of Bijapoor, Ahmednuggur, and Golconda were about this time engaged in their expedition against Ram Raj of Bejanuggur; but, from the rare allusion even by Ferishta to the Portuguese, it may be presumed that in the days in which he wrote, their proceedings did not generally engage much of the attention of these courts.

‡ Which invariably directed the extermination of "the Saracens."

tance by which they were removed from their government; for although dissensions might arise amongst them, yet it was never heard that any one of them ever fell a martyr to his exercise of the authority invested in him. This general obedience to authority enabled them, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, to overcome the native princes of Malabar, who, as well as the Mahomedans, were all intriguing for power amongst themselves, every man being desirous of authority, and prepared to encompass the death of all who stood in his way to it. Some time after these cursed Franks had established themselves in Calicut, and settled there, they invited the Zamorin to a house within their fort,* under the pretext of presenting him with certain valuable gifts, said by them to have been sent for his acceptance by the viceroy of the Europeans; but their real intention was the seizure of his person. The Zamorin, however, seeing through this stratagem, by means of a sign made to him by a certain Frank, and by the decree of that Providence which over-rules mankind, escaped from amongst them, and was delivered out of their snares by the will of God most High; and, in consequence of his escape,

* Of this intended piece of perfidy the translator has not been able to find any mention in any Portuguese author.

the Franks expelled from their society him of their number who, in saving the Zamorin, had betrayed their purpose, banishing him, with all his relations, to Cannanore. Subsequently to this, in the month of Mohurram, in the year 923, the Franks sailed out from Goa with a vast armament, consisting of a fleet of twenty-eight vessels; which expedition was designed against the fortified port of Jeddah, of which they were desirous to possess themselves; and entering that port, they threw the Mahomedans inhabiting it into a vast panic and confusion.* It happened, however, that the Emir Soliman, of Room, was there at that time, having with him two hundred soldiers, and the grabs which the Egyptian (Campson) had navigated to the Malabar coast, for the purpose of being employed against the Franks, but which he had left there; and the inhabitants opening a heavy fire upon the fleet of the Franks, and some of the ships of the latter suffering severely; these

A.D. 1517.

* “Hoc nuntio erectus Prætor extemplo Giddam iter edixit. Ut in conspectu fuit classis, primo in urbe usque adeo tripidatum est, ut desperata defensione oppidani vulgo pararent fugam; Prætoris dein mora, et Solimani adhortatio restituit animos.” Maffei Hist. Lib. vii. p. 126.—It is but seldom that our author, where “the Faithful” are concerned, will make so great (and apparently so just) an admission as the above, the prowess of his brethren being with him a favourite theme.

having slipped their cables, hoisted all sail, and, steering without the range of the fire from the batteries, sheered off.* But the Emir Soliman despatched some vessels in pursuit of them, when it was discovered that they had in their fleet sunbooks,† each manned with thirty men. Moreover they took in Kemran, a small galliot belonging to the Franks, on board of which were twelve Christians,‡ whom they brought back with them to Jeddah : after this, these vagabonds steering for Kemram, remained there till the cessation of the western monsoon,§ when they returned to Goa, entirely frustrated in their designs. This by the Divine permission and the mercy of God !

* This failure Maffei ascribes partly to the incompetency and delays of the Prætor in command, and partly to the sickness which broke out in his fleet, and which in part obliged him to abandon the enterprise.

† A kind of Asiatic vessel resembling a galley.

‡ The Sheikh here underrates the number. For Maffei says, " In eo lembo Lusitani septendecim navigabant." However, he calls the vessel captured " lembus unus," which would degrade the Sheikh's galliot into a fishing smack. The prisoners, according to the above historian, were sent by Soliman to his master Selim Shah.

§ " Ineunte jam hieme ad Camaranum revertit." Maffei Hist. Lib. vii. p. 125.

SECTION IV.

Relating the occasion of the hostilities which ensued between the Zamorin and the Franks, and the capture of the Fort of Calicut.

KNOW, then, that the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Franks in Calicut every day becoming more insupportable (although the Zamorin was compelled to shut his eyes towards it, as he was unable to suppress it), a disturbance took place between them and some of the Mahomedans of Fundreeah, who at that time were at Calicut, and this happened on the 10th day of Mohurrum, in the year 931 : upon which occurrence, the treaty being considered as at an end, war and hostilities recommenced. Before this event, however, certain of the inhabitants of Fundreeah, Chumpanah, and of Travancore and Parpoorangore, and other places, having sailed out in small grabs and lain concealed, had seized some of the smaller vessels of the Franks that were engaged in trade, and captured, in all, about ten of them ; this happened in the year 930, and prior thereto. A disagreement, also, had occurred between the Mahomedans at Cranganore and the Jews inhabiting that place ; and a Mussulman, having in conse-

A.D. 1524.

A.D. 1523.

quence fallen a victim, a general battle took place between them ; and the Mahomedans sent messengers to all their brethren in the neighbouring towns, begging their assistance, in order that they might make retaliation upon the Jews. On this appeal, the Mahomedan population of Calicut and Fundreeah (with the natives of that place themselves) and of their dependent villages, and of Kabkat, Turkoz, and Shaleeat (with the natives of Shaleeat), and Purpoorangore, and Travancore, and Tanoor, and Parinoor, and Tunan, and Baleenghat (which is in the collectorate of Shaleeat), having all leagued together, prepared to attack the Jews of Cranganore ; designing at the same time to extirpate the Franks, and resolved to make no terms with them. And they entered into this combination with the permission of the Zamorin and his entire approbation. This happened in the year 931 ; and the people of the towns above named embarked in their fleet of grabs (which consisted of a hundred sail), commenced hostilities against Cranganore, where they put to death a great number of the Jews, and drove out the rest to a village in the neighbourhood of Cranganore, that lies to the eastward of it. The Mahomedans burnt their houses and synagogues, and proceeded to destroy

A.D. 1524.

the houses and churches of the Christians* of that place; upon which a misunderstanding took

* The Nestorians, of whom something has been before said, according to Dr. Forster, received their religious notions, customs, and expressions from the Syro Nestorian Christians at Bagdad and Bassorah. Fra Paolino has given a very interesting account of them. When he was amongst them (about sixty years ago), they still celebrated their Agapæ or love-feasts, as was usual in former times, and which Dr. Forster mentions as being still retained in the Greek church also. Their numbers however, in Malabar, have greatly decreased, the greater part of the Nestorians and Christians of St. Thomas who settled there having joined the Catholic church in 1599; this union having been (as before mentioned) brought about by the Portuguese Prelate, Alexis Menezes, the first Archbishop of Goa. Upon the subject of their origin, Fra Paolino adduces the following reasons in support of his opinion that they came from Persia or Chaldea: 1st. Because the Arabs established in India are also foreigners; 2d. Because the Jews there were originally from Persia; 3d. Because the Christians of St. Thomas, as well as those of the same sect in Persia, follow the Syrio-Chaldaic ritual; 4th. Because their bishops formerly were ordained in Persia; 5th. Because the Christians of St. Thomas in India, like those of Persia, were in the earliest periods Nestorians; and, 6th. Because, on an accurate examination, a great similarity is observed in the worship and religious practices of both. He afterwards adds a fact that appears to the translator more corroborative of his opinion, almost, than any of the above reasons, viz. that they call God "Allaha," the Holy Ghost "Ruha," &c. These evidently are the Arabic الله روح. Now had they been originally Indians, as he observes,

place between the Mahomedans and the Nairs residing there, and several of the latter were slain ; in consequence of which the Mahomedans who dwelt in Cranganore were compelled to seek for safety elsewhere, and to remove to other towns. In this year, also, the Mahomedans of Durmaftum (with the native inhabitants of that place), and Azgar, and Cannanore, and Travancore, and Meilee, and Chumpanah, entered into a league against the Franks, and made war upon them in the same manner as their brethren of other towns had done before. At this time, too, certain of the principal Mahomedan inhabitants of Cochin (men of great learning in the law) distinguished themselves by their activity in war against the Franks ; and amongst these were Ahmud-Murkar, and his brother Kunjee-Alee-Murkar, and their maternal uncle Mahomed-Alee-Murkar, with their dependents, all of whom, quitting Cochin, removed to Calicut. Now from this and other circumstances, the Franks, (whom may God confound!) having become well assured of the inveterate hostility entertained towards them by the great

why should they not have used Sanskrit words? It is certain that in old Arabic authors frequent and familiar mention is made of the Nestorians, as a sect well known in Arabia and Persia.

body of the Mahomedans and the Zamorin, set sail from Cochin with a vast armament, and proceeded to make a descent upon Funan, where they landed early on the morning of the third sabbath of the month of Jumadee-al-awal in the above year; and they burnt and demolished the greater part of the dwelling-houses and shops of that place, besides certain mosques; cut down, also, most of the cocoa-nut trees that were growing on the banks of the river there, whilst great was the number of those who suffered martyrdom. Then the Franks, quitting the place during the third night after their arrival, proceeded to Fundreeah, where they made a seizure of forty grabs belonging to its inhabitants; and here also martyrdom was the lot of many. Now at the time when the fracas took place in Calicut between the Franks and certain of the Mahomedans of Fundreeah, and in consequence of which the Zamorin had resolved to attack the former, he himself was absent from Calicut, being engaged in carrying on war against certain other enemies of his at some distance; at this time, therefore, he was content with despatching the prime minister, who was called Baleez, against the Franks, with instructions to attack them. Thus commissioned, this person began to act against them with great vigour, taking his measures with prudence,

A D. 1524.

and collecting together the Mahomedans and the Nair soldiers of the Zamorin; the former flocking to his standard (to fight for their religion and the cause of God) from various towns. And the Zamorin himself setting out for Calicut, and the provisions of the Franks at this time being expended, they did not await his approach, but evacuated their fort,* and embarked all that it contained on board their ships; to facilitate their doing this they made an opening in the wall from within the fort, and in a part which was not visible to those who were without, and abandoning the fort, they set sail in the ships and went away,† which event happened on the 16th day of

* “ Ac demum Henricus pertæsus Indicæ levitatis, et “ Mahometanæ perfidiæ, præsidium abducere ab Calecuto, et “ arcem, a fundamentis excindere statuit.” Maff. Hist. lib.viii. p.167. The Sheikh has omitted the circumstance of the destruction of the fortifications, by the Portuguese.

† The catastrophe that, according to Maffei, followed their evacuation of the fort at Calicut, is not even alluded to by our author, “ Ergo, muris et propugnaculis, opere subterraneo, sulphurei pulueris de more copiam subdivisit: dein militibus et “ machinis omnique instrumento raptim in naves imposito “ (cuius rei facultatem et natura loci et nautica turba præstabat) “ ignes cavernis injecti, et barbaris illico, si quid forte prædæ “ relictum esset, stolida temeritate in arcem ingressis (*tanta* “ *inest hominibus rapiendi libido*) interim e specubus cæcis

Mohurram, in the year 932. And there were A.D. 1525.
slain, from the commencement of the war up to the victory of the Nairs, of the Zamorins and soldiers, officers, and of the Mahomedans, upwards of a thousand persons! Nevertheless, the rage of the Franks increased ten-fold, whilst their animosity towards the Mahomedans was heightened to the last degree from this capture of their fort; and in this posture affairs had remained for a long period, when the Mahomedans, notwithstanding all that they had suffered in their wars against the Franks, again fitted out small grabs and recommenced trading; sailing to Guzerat and other ports, carrying, however, no passes from the Franks, but being prepared for resistance; and they commenced also exporting, for the above markets, pepper, ginger, and other articles of trade. Although some of these consignments reached their destination in safety, yet the greater part of them either fell into the hands of the Franks or were lost at sea through their instrumentality; and beholding this, the people of Durmuftun and their followers and dependents, towards the close of this season, entered into a treaty of peace with the Franks, and again

“*erumpentes momento flammæ plerosque hausere : et cum
horribili strepitu mœnium structura dissiliit.*” Lib. viii. p. 167.

sailed under the protection of their passes, as they had done before during their armistice with that nation. But the subjects of the Zamorin, and those connected with them, long persevered in carrying on hostilities against these their foreign enemies; indeed, till they had exhausted their resources, and had arrived at a state of the greatest poverty.* A.D. 1528. And in the year 935, a ship belonging to the Franks was wrecked off Tanoor, in consequence of the violent and sudden setting in of the rainy season. Now the Ray of that place affording aid to the crew, the Zamorin sent a messenger to him demanding of him the surrender of the Franks who composed it, together with such parts of the cargo of the ship as had been saved; but that chieftain having refused compliance with this demand, a treaty of peace was entered into by the Franks with him;† and from this time

* “ Inter hæc Indico mari ab Lusitanis vehementer infesto, “ Calecutana commercia magis in dies imminui; negotiatores “ et inquilini partim ad suos lares, partim in aliena regna “ migrare.” Maff. Hist. lib. ii. p. 47. This passage amounts to an admission of piracy on the part of the Portuguese. That Albuquerque, Capralis and Almeida were in some respect “ buccaneers,” their own histories clearly prove.

† The translator has been unable to find elsewhere any mention of this shipwreck; Maffei mentions the treaty entered into by the Portuguese, with the Ray of Tanoor, but describes

the subjects of the Ray of Tanoor traded under the protection of the passes of the Franks; the Ray also giving permission to the Franks to erect fortifications on the north side of the river at Funan, upon certain land which belonged to him there. Now the Franks, in the construction of works here, had chiefly in view the molestation of the Zamorin, the plundering of travellers who pass that way, and the laying waste of Funan. And designing to commence the building of this fort, they sailed out of Cochin in a large and well equipped fleet of galliots, transporting with them stones and quick-lime, as materials for the work; but when arrived off Funan, by the gracious interposition of Providence, there arose a violent storm of wind, which occasioned the loss of their whole fleet, not one even of their smallest galliots having escaped; and the whole of their crews (composed of Franks and their servants and dependants) perished, the greater number having

the occasion of it, in quite a different manner. He says: "*Per idem tempus, Rex Tanoris (ea quoque Malabarica est regio) cum finitimis bellis admodum premeretur, a Lusitanis auxilium petiit, seque ni aspernarentur Emmanuelis vectigalem fore professus est; missi extemplo aliquot Lusitani manipuli, quo ille subsidio, cum brevi superior hostibus evasisset, certiam vti receperat legibus, in Regis Lusitaniæ societatem, ditionemque concessit.*"—Lib. ii. p. 47.

been drowned, whilst those who escaped the waves and reached the land were slain by the Mahomedans. Large quantities of woollen cloths were obtained from the wrecks of these vessels; but besides these there was nothing saved. In this manner did the Zamorin obtain over them a signal victory; and thus did God frustrate the designs of the Franks and their allies, out of his grace and divine favour.* Subsequently, in the A.D. 1530-31. year 937 or 938, some of the subjects of the Zamorin and others, amongst whom were Allee-Ibrahim-Murkar, and his nephew Kuttee-Ibrahim-Murkar, and other persons of distinction, set sail in a fleet of thirty grabs for Guzerat, the object of their voyage being generally trade, and the greater part of them steered for the ports of Tojaree and Surat, whilst a few of them proceeded to Bassorah: when the Franks, on being apprized of it, equipped an armament of galliots and other vessels to attack them; and sailing into the rivers at Tojaree and Surat, they seized

* Upon this signal discomfiture (which however probably amounted to no more than the loss of a few small vessels) Mafeius is altogether silent. That the Sheikh's account of the catastrophe is on the whole true, may be presumed from the accuracy that it must have been seen he usually displays in his detail of events.

every thing that was lying there, capturing every grab and making prize of every thing found on board; but the vessels lying at anchor at Basorah escaped their hands. Prior to this date, also, there had fallen into their possession a large number of grabs that were employed in the service of Sultan Bahadur-Shah of Guzerat, whom may God (because of his holy resistance to these infidels) hereafter greatly reward! A great many grabs, also, belonging to the people of Malabar, had at different times been captured by them; all this happened according to the decrees of God, and from His omnipotent will. Nevertheless to God, and towards Him alone, do I look in hope!* Now, from the causes above related, the power of the Mahomedans suffered greatly, whilst their circumstances became impoverished to the last degree.

* This is an expression of resignation used by the followers of the Prophet in all their distresses. In the *Alf Leilah* (or *Arabian Nights*) it occurs at least a hundred times.

SECTION V.

Relating the building of the fort at Shaleeat by the Franks, and the accommodation again brought about between them and the Zamorin.

THIS event happened in the following manner: one of the principal men* of the Franks, setting out from Cochin by land, and concealing his designs under the false and treacherous pretence of peace, presented himself before the Zamorin. Now this person was master of the greatest subtilty and cunning, and capable of employing the deepest stratagems. He was acquainted, moreover, with certain of the chief Mahomedans (of Malabar) who were engaged in trade, and had transacted business with them at the time when the armistice between the Zamorin and the Franks permitted such intercourse. And proceeding on to Funan, from thence he went to the Ray of Tanoor, with whom he remained in consultation until he had effected a reconciliation between him and the Zamorin. Now the Zamorin, who captured the fort of the Franks at Calicut, was weak and

* Either Alphonso Albuquerque, or his son Fransisco, must be here alluded to, as these two persons appear to have conducted the greater part of the negotiations entered into between the Portuguese and the Zamorin about this time.

possessed of but a limited understanding and of few mental resources ; being, moreover, addicted to habits of inebriety. But his brother, who during his reign resided at the ports, and who succeeded to the government of the Zamorin after his death, was one who commanded respect, being a man possessed of great courage and resolution, and not one who considered himself tied down to the observance of forms, however ancient their institution.* By means of these qualities, he obtained the Rayship of Tanoor before he became the Zamorin, and succeeded to the sovereignty (of Calicut), which, with all its dependencies, he bequeathed with an undisputed authority to his successor. And it was during the reign of this prince that the Franks erected their fort at Shaleeat, in the vicinity of which the Zamorin, his troops, and indeed all travellers of whatever description, were obliged to pass ; it thus commanded the trade between Arabia and Calicut, since between the last city and Shaleeat the distance was scarcely

* The reason for this digression of the Sheikh's is not very evident, unless, in the comparison which he here draws between the two Zamorins, he means to express his amazement at the oversight (unaccountable in this prince from his great capacity) of the latter of these chiefs, in allowing the Portuguese to establish themselves in so formidable a position as at Shaleeat, which was only two leagues distant from Calicut.

two parasangs.* The Zamorin had given them permission to build this piece of fortification, after his accommodation with the Ray of Shaleeat; and in consequence of this permission, the Franks setting sail in a large vessel laden with all the necessary materials and instruments for building this fort, arrived in the Shaleeat river at the end of Rubi-al-Akhir, in the year 938. Here they constructed fortifications of great solidity and strength;† and throwing down the ancient Jamie mosque, which had been erected there on the first introduction of Islamism in Malabar (and of which, with the more modern mosques, mention has been made in the preceding pages), they took the stones which had composed this building as material for their fort, to which they also added a church. But whilst engaged in the building of this fort, one of

* The word in the Arabic is *فرسخين* fursukhein; a fursukh Richardson considers about 18,000 feet, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. Their motives in the construction of this fort were here correctly enough judged of. “Is locus ultra Calcutum duas leucas apprime navigabili æstuario impositus, mire factus erat ad Arabum infestanda commercia, et Zamorini consilia exploranda.”—Maff. Hist. lib. xi. p. 208.

† Maffei, speaking of the building of this fort, says: “Ibi ergo Prætor quieto Calcutano, neque ad impediendam ædificationem auso inire certamen, arcem egregiam opere militari paucis diebus extruxit.”—Lib. xi. p. 208.

the Franks having carried away a stone of the Jamie mosque above alluded to, the Mahomedans of Shaleeat complained to the viceroy of that nation, who in consequence proceeded thither with some of his officers, and gave orders that stones and quicklime should be supplied by the latter for the work; promising the Mahomedans, at the same time, that no materials but such as were the property of the Franks should be taken for building these fortifications. On this the Mahomedans being satisfied, went away, feeling indeed thankful; but the day after this only, the Franks coming again in a vast concourse, proceeded entirely to demolish the Jamie mosque, so that not one stone remained upon another. Beholding this, the Mahomedans renewed their remonstrances to the viceroy; but this person, in reply to their complaint, answered them, that the Ray of the town to which they belonged had sold to the Franks both the mosque and the ground on which it stood. On hearing this they returned much dejected; for after this they were compelled to assemble for prayer in a small mosque, situated at a great distance from their dwellings. In addition to all this, these wicked men demolished the tombs of the Moslems, and carried off the stones of which they had been built to complete their fortress. Before it was finished, how-

ever, the Zamorin died, when his brother (of whom some account has been before given) succeeded him; and he, putting an end to the armistice, commenced hostilities against the Ray of Shaleeat, and laid waste his territory; so that at length he was compelled to submit to the Zamorin, and to implore such terms from him as that chieftain was disposed to dictate. And in this year the emir* Mustafa of Room, arrived from Mahunah, at Diu, off Guzerat, bringing with him some cannon and much valuable property. And the prince Toghun, the son of king Ayass, was at this time exercising the government at Diu, as the representative of sultan Bahadur Shah. Shortly after the arrival of the emir at Diu, the Franks made their appearance before it, entertaining a design of seizing upon the place; but the emir engaged them, drove them back, and repulsed their attack with great vigour;† the Franks by the permission of God,

* Maffei, speaking of this Emir, says: "Turcas trecentos " Mustafa ducebat;" (making no mention of any guns, however). Lib. xi. p. 211.

† This was the unsuccessful expedition of the Prætor Nonnius, when, by the gallantry of the Turk Mustafa, he was completely defeated. Maffei describing the chagrin and rage of the Prætor at this unexpected repulse, says: "Sublatis " anchoris frendens gemensque irrito conatu ad Betelem rediit." Lib. xi. p. 208.—This, the third attempt against Diu, was made,

experiencing on this occasion a signal defeat, were entirely broken, and compelled to sheer off much shattered and disheartened.

SECTION VI.

Concerning the third treaty that was entered into between the Zamorin and the Franks.

This accommodation took place in the year 940 ; the Zamorin making peace with the Franks A.D. 1533. upon the condition of permission being given him to navigate every year four vessels from Calicut

according to Sousa, in consequence of positive orders having been sent from Europe that it should be obtained possession of on any terms. The Portuguese fleet rendezvoused in Bombay harbour (in 1531), preparatory to sailing to attack Diu. The expedition, according to the accounts of the last quoted historian, consisted of one hundred sail of vessels of all descriptions, including transports, these containing 3,600 Europeans, 2,000 natives and Malabars, and 8,000 Caffre soldiers, besides 500 Indian boatmen, in all 22,300 men. Having besieged and taken Beli, and captured there sixty pieces of cannon, the fleet sailed out to Diu, where they met with a desperate resistance from the Mahomedans, under Mustafa Khan Roomy, a European Turk, which repulse induced the main body to return to Goa ; whilst a part of the fleet, under Anthony de Saldana, revenged themselves for their disappointment in failing against Diu, by burning Moozuffurabad lying between Beli and Diu.

to the ports of Arabia. And this being arranged, certain of his vessels at once set sail for the Arabian main, his subjects also generally recommenced trading to different countries, carrying the passes of the Franks. And after this pacific adjustment the Zamorin sallied forth to attack the Ray of Tanoor, continuing to war against and pursue him, until he purchased peace by surrendering to the Zamorin the lands contiguous to Funan, and the island in the neighbourhood of Shaleeat;* the Franks, who had come from Cochin, for the purpose of building the fort at Shaleeat, acting as mediators between them in this pacification. Shortly after this, peace being made between these chieftains, Khoajeh Hossein Sanjakdar the Turk, and Kanjee-Alee-Murkar the brother-in-law of Ahmud-Murkar, arrived in certain grabs, bringing with them vast presents from the sultan Bahadur Shah† to the Zamorin,

* The Ray of Tanoor early evinced towards the Portuguese a friendly disposition: hence the hostility of the Zamorin. He eventually became a convert to the Catholic religion, having been baptized at Goa.

† This prince Maffei (who calls him "Badurius Sultanus") has described nearly in the language which Sallust applied to Catiline: "*æque sui prodigus, et rapax alieni.*" He adds afterwards, that he was "*Numinum contemptor.*" He was

besides much money; the sultan being desirous of engaging the Zamorin's influence, towards inducing the Mahomedans of Malabar to proceed to Guzerat, to co-operate with that monarch in a maritime warfare against the Franks. But the mission of these persons was unsuccessful. Now the date of their arrival at Calicut was the 16th of A.D. 1534. Rubi-al-awal, in the year 941.

SECTION VII.

Regarding the peace made between Sultan Bahadur Shah and the Franks; and the grant of that monarch to them of certain ports.

Now in the latter part of this year, sultan Humaioon Badshah,* the son of Babur-Bad-

shah in an affray with the Portuguese, an account of his death shortly following.

* D'Herbelot, upon the authority of Mirkhond and Khondemir, thus traces this Sultan's descent:—"Homaïoun, fils de "Babor ou Babur, fils d'Omar Scheikh, fils d'Abu-said, fils de "Miranschah, fils de Timur ou Tamerlan."—Biblio. Orientale. He succeeded his father Babur, A.D. 1530. Maffei speaks of him as "Rex Miramudius, a magno Tamberlane originem trahens."—Lib. xi. p. 209. This prince ascended the throne of Delhi (the first time) in the year 1530. After a reign of troubles he was compelled, in 1542, to flee for safety to Persia. Nine years after this he was restored to his kingdom. His

shah* (may they both rest in peace!) after having conquered Delhi and the country around it, turned his steps towards Guzerat, laying waste that country and driving before him Bahadur Shah; who, in consequence, dreading the loss of his dominions from the attacks of that monarch, sent messengers to the Franks begging their assistance. Whereupon, they consenting to afford it to him, and having repaired to his succour with all expedition, a treaty of alliance and amity was entered into between them; he, the sultan, making over to them certain ports, as a consideration for their alliance, *viz.* Wusee, Muhaeem, and others.† And

death, according to Ferishta, was melancholy. He had been walking on the terrace of the royal library at Delhi, and while descending the stairs to go below, the stick which he had in his hand, and on which he was resting, slipped, and the king in consequence was projected forwards. When taken up he was insensible, and about four days after (Ferishta tells us) his spirit took its flight to Paradise. He died in the year 1556, aged fifty-one, after reigning at different intervals for twenty-five years.

* This prince was son of Omar Sheikh Mirza, and was the first of the house of Timour, after Timour himself, that reigned over Delhi. He ascended the throne in 1475, and died in 1530.

† On the approach of the Emperor towards Diu, Bahadur Shah: "Oratorem petendæ pacis ad Nonnium misit, scriptisque "et obsignatis conditionibus, Joanni Regi Bazainum, vicinasque

the Franks setting up their rule in these ports, and adding to them other towns and lands in their neighbourhood, in this manner made a great acquisition of territory; their power increasing so much that Diu submitted to them, and their authority in this quarter became undisputed; half of the imposts of tenths were also assigned to them. And they exercised their government over Diu, adding to the fortifications of that port also. Now it should be observed that the Franks had, for a long time before this, eagerly desired the possession of this port,* having appeared before it several times with the view of attempting its seizure; first in the time of king Ayass, and afterwards in the time of his children. But they had failed in their designs on all these occasions, having by the divine permission been frustrated. But now that with this their desire, the will of Almighty God accorded, their acquisition of that port was not a difficult task. Moreover, the Lord omnipotent (whose name be praised!) decreed, that the sultan

“ insulas, quo in numero Salsetanæ sunt, et partem insuper
 “ continentis attribuit.”—Maff. Hist. lib. xi. p. 210.

* The Portuguese, as the Sheikh here states, appear to have greatly coveted the possession of this island, having, as must have been already seen, directed every attempt to be made for its capture. Its importance fell with the power of the Portuguese, it having then dwindled into insignificance.

Bahadur Shah should meet his death at their hands; for so it happened, he having been killed by them, and his body swallowed up in the sea.* To God, and towards him alone, do

* The Sheikh is guilty of a great want of candour on this occasion, in suppressing the particulars of Bahadur Shah's death. This prince had unsuccessfully attempted the assassination of Nonnius, or Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese prætor; and in the affray that followed the discovery of this piece of treachery, to avoid falling into the hands of the Portuguese (who were on the point of taking him), he leapt into the sea, where his death, according to Maffei, was rather the result of accident than design; when, sinking he called out for help, which was about to be afforded to him; when, says Maffei, "dum illi remum ad evadendum porrigit Pavia, præter expectationem a quodam e nautis infimæ sortis homine conto seu hastâ conficitur. Exanime corpus cum diutius fluitasset subsidebat deinde, neque unquam apparuit." — Lib. xi. p. 214. With a view to setting this matter at rest, Colonel Briggs, in his translation of Ferishta, has given two long extracts, one from Faria-y-Sousa's history of the Portuguese in Asia, and the other from the Mirat Iskanduri, both relating (in their own way) this catastrophe. The former's account of the matter entirely agrees with that given by Maffei; it seems, however, that there was an intention of treachery on both sides. The author of the Mirat Iskanduri's account differs but little from Ferishta's, who when relating the death of Bahadur Shah, says: "The admiral of the fleet complained of severe indisposition as an excuse for not waiting on the king, while he on the other hand thought that their services might eventually be of use in his war with Homaioon Pad-

I look in hope! For the fiat of God, which is irreversible, had gone forth. Now this monarch was slain on the 3d of Rāmzan, in the year 943. A.D. 1536. And after sultan Bahadur Shah had thus been added to the number of martyrs, these Franks conquering the whole of Diu, settled there; such being the decree of the All-gracious, the All-wise; for against the will of God there is no avail, nor can His resolves be diverted. Now in the year 944 A.D. 1537. the Franks made a descent on Puranoor, killing in this attack Kuttee Ibrahim Murkar, the nephew of Allee Ibrahim Murkar, besides others, at the same time; and after having committed great devastation they returned, being guilty of this wanton attack, notwithstanding that they were at peace with the Ray of Tanoor and his people, who with the inhabitants of Puranoor were sailing from port to port, unprepared for such usage; the occasion of which it appeared was, that a vessel

“ shah; Bahadur Shah therefore condescended to visit the
 “ admiral on board; and was going over the side of the ship on
 “ his return, when the boat was shoved off, and the king fell
 “ into the water. A European who was leaning over the
 “ ship’s side, threw a boarding pike at him, which entering his
 “ skull, he immediately sunk and was drowned.”—It ought to
 be observed, that the king’s death happened after Emmanuel
 de Sousa, the governor of Diu, had been treacherously slain,
 whilst on board Bahadur Shah’s boat.

had sailed to the port of Jeddah, laden with pepper and ginger, without the pass of the Franks having been taken out, who, to prevent a repetition, had recourse to the above-mentioned act of violence ; as by permitting this trade in pepper and ginger (which indeed they had made contraband) to be carried on without the restriction of their passes, they necessarily would become great losers, and especially if such were carried on to any large extent with the port of Jeddah. In consequence, however, of what they had done, the Zamorin set out for Cranganore, to attack them and their ally the Ray of Cochin. But after allowing some days to be lost, God infused into the heart of this chieftain a dread of these people, under the influence of which he returned from thence panic-struck, without having effected any thing. Encouraged by this, the Franks built a fort at Cranganore,* by which and other acts of theirs, the Zamorin was reduced to the last extremity. And about this time Alèc-Ibrahim-Murkar, and his brother-in-law Ahmed-Murkar, and his brother Kunjee-Alee-Murkar, sailed out with twenty-two grabs in the

* This fort was built by the Portuguese in 1505, and according to Fra Paolino, taken by the Dutch in 1663. They subsequently sold it to the Rajah of Travancore, from whom it was taken by M. Lally, in command of Tippoo's army, in 1790.

direction of Kaeel, and arriving off Bentalah they landed, leaving their grabs at anchor there, themselves remaining on shore for some days. But destruction overtook them on the arrival of the Franks, who came upon them in their galliots, attacking and capturing all their grabs ; thus, by the decree of God and his will, many Mahomedans on this occasion suffered martyrdom. Now this capture by the Franks took place in the latter part of the month of Shaban, in the year 944. And those of the party above-mentioned who escaped, set out from Bentalah for Malabar ; but when they had arrived at Nillaneez, about half of the distance which they had to accomplish, Alee-Ibrahim-Murkar surrendered his soul to God, to whose mercy, boundless in extent, be it committed. Furthermore, in the middle of the month of Shawal in this year, the Franks (upon whom may God ever send destruction !) seized certain grabs belonging to the people of Calicut, whilst in sight of Cannanore.*

A.D. 1537.

* These were some of the captures of Almeida and Cabral, two commanders whose naval exploits are detailed in all Portuguese accounts of their early government in India.

SECTION VIII.

Of the arrival of Soliman-Pasha at Diu, and in its neighbourhood.

AND in the above-mentioned year (A.D. 1537) Soliman-Pasha,* the vizier of the sultan Soliman-Shah (of whom mention has already been made), with a vast naval armament, in all amounting to nearly one hundred sail of grabs, polaccas, and of vessels of a similar description, appeared before Aden, and attacking it, slew Sheikh-Aamur-Ebn Daood the sultan,† with a great many of his principal nobles, making capture also of the city. After this he proceeded to Guzerat, and com-

* There were two Solimans, but this is the "Solimanus" "Peloponnesius" of Maffei, whom he stigmatizes as "virum enormi non minus adipe, quam avaritia et crudelitete notissimum." Of his force he says, "huic remigum ad septem millia bellatorum sex attributa, in quibus erant Janizarii seu prætoriani mille quingenti, Turcæ bis mille, aliarum gentium cæteri, maritimæ ferme rei callentes, qui et militum ubi opus esset, et nautarum partes obirent."—Lib. xi. p. 216.

† Having obtained permission to land some of his men, for the recovery of their health as he feigned, he basely availed himself of the unsuspecting kindness of the Sultan to introduce some of his soldiers into the fort; and these having inhumanly put the prince to death, obtained possession of the place. Maffei mentions this act with terms of just execration.

menced hostilities against Diu ; and when, from the vast calibre and weight of the ordnance with which he had been furnished by his master (the sultan Soliman-Shah), most of the fortifications of that place had been destroyed, and were not in a condition to admit of further resistance, God created in the heart of Soliman-Pasha a panic,* and infused

* This was the celebrated defence of Diu by the Portuguese in the year 1538, against the combined forces of Soliman Aga, the Turkish admiral, and Khoajeh Zuffur, the former having commanded the fleet, the latter the land forces. Maffei gives the following harangue of Sylveria, the Portuguese general, who commanded on this occasion, to his countrymen, when the fleet of Soliman came in sight : “ Ut in conspectu fuit classis, ad nobiles qui ad spectaculum ex arce convenerant, Sylveria perquam serena fronte conversus : En, inquit, viri, tempus, acceptam a majoribus bellicam gloriam, debitamque tum Deo, tum Regi nostro fidem nobis ob oculos proponendi horum utrumque si attentis animis intuebimur, profecto labores omnes atque pericula, quæ ex hostili tanto tamque multiplici apparatu nobis impendent, præ officii ac pietatis fructu levia ducemus.—Equidem, et ex ipsa quam agimus causa, et ex vestra virtute, commilitiones, magna in spe sum, fore ut de immanibus hisce barbaris illustrem intra paucos dies victoriam reportemus ; qua vos eadem fiducia quoniam teneri certo scio ; supervacaneum reor hoc loco trophæa recensere, quæ toties jam ex communibus et Christianæ religionis et Lusitani sanguinis hostibus, Deo bene juvante retulimus.”—Lib. xi. p. 217.

On hearing of Diu being attacked, Nuno de Cunha, who was

into his mind a violent dread of the Franks, under the influence of which, he returned without having made any impression upon them, first to Egypt, and afterwards to Room. And in thus decreeing it, the Almighty (whose name be praised!) designed to make trial of the faith of his servants. After the Pasha's departure, the Franks set about repairing the breaches that he had made in the walls of the fort; and these being completed, they exercised their rule over Diu in undisputed sovereignty. Now a year after the death of Alee-Ibrahim-Murkar, his brother-in-law Ahmud-Murkar, and his brother Kunjee-Alee-Murkar set sail with a fleet of eleven grabs for Ceylon; but the Franks overtaking and furiously attacking them, succeeded in capturing all their grabs, after many Moslems had received martyrdom. But those that escaped, with the men of substance above-mentioned, made their way to the Ray of Ceylon, who inhumanly put them all to death, having treacherously attacked them. To God, and towards him only, do I look in hope!

the viceroy at this time, sent a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, which according to Sousa carried one thousand pieces of cannon, and five thousand men, to reinforce the garrison.

SECTION IX.

Of the fourth treaty entered into between the Zamorin and the Franks.

Now the Franks coming to the Zamorin, who was at this time at Funan and praying for peace, he consented to make terms with them; the Rays of Tanoor and Cranganore, who were also at Funan, were instrumental in bringing about this pacification, which took place in the month of Shaban, in the year 946. And after this adjustment of differences, the subjects of the Zamorin resuming their commercial occupations, again traded under the protection of passes from the Franks. And on the eighth day of the month of Mohurram (the sacred), in the year 952, the Franks put to death a Mahomedan of great consequence and consideration named Aboobukur-Alee, who was residing at Cannanore, involving also in his fate his near relative Kunjee Sofee.* Now the first of these was uncle to Alee-Azraja, and the second,

A.D. 1539.

A.D. 1545.

* Respecting the cause of this act of hostility on the part of the Portuguese the Sheikh is silent, nor has the translator been able to find in the history of Maffei any mention of these persons. They probably fell in some of the petty rencontres between the Portuguese and their countrymen, which their mutual animosity made frequent.

his father ; and in consequence of their being put to death hostilities again broke out, but shortly after the matter was accommodated.

SECTION X.

Of the recurrence of hostilities between the Zamorin and the Franks.

THE occasion of this rupture was as follows :
—On the first day of Mohurram, in the year
A.D. 1550. 957, a league had been entered into by the Zamorin with one of the chieftains of Malabar, who was the most powerful of all the allies of the Ray of Cochin, his territories being contiguous to Cochin on the southern side ; and this chief the Franks had named “ the lord of the pepper lands,” (or “ the great pepper-owner,”) in consequence of the large quantity of that spice that he usually collected from the different districts where it grew.* And he became one of the adherents of the Zamorin, who confirmed to him the possession of his government. He made a petition also to the Zamorin, that he would make his

* This probably was some chieftain whose territories lay in the neighbourhood of Aleppi and Quilon, where the greatest quantity of pepper was formerly grown and exported.

brother fourth in the line of succession, as he himself would succeed as Zamorin after the death of that chieftain, and upon the demise of his two brothers after him ; in compliance with which request, the Zamorin made him fourth in the line of succession, according to the custom which had existed from old times among the people of Malabar. And shortly after this, this great pepper lord being on his return to his own country, the Ray of Cochin, with the Franks, marched out to intercept him ; and attacking him, they followed up their hostilities until they had accomplished the death of this chieftain, he having been destroyed by fire : this happened in the month of Jumadee-al-awul of this year. And when the intelligence of his death reached the Zamorin, he set out with all expedition from Calicut, to take revenge upon the authors of it ; and reaching the territories of the (late) lord of the pepper lands, he commenced hostilities against the Franks and their ally, the Ray of Cochin, expending in this warfare much good substance, which never returned either to himself or to his posterity. And on the 8th of Jumadee the second, of the above year, a large body of the troops of the deceased chief appeared before Cochin, having the river flowing between them and that town ; and proceeding to attack it, they burnt a vast number

of the houses of which it was composed, and occasioned great loss to its inhabitants, being provoked to this assault in consequence of their chieftain having been slain in the expedition of the Ray of Cochin and the Franks (whom may God confound) against his territories. From all these causes, then, arose that hostility, which now raged at its height, between the Zamorin and the Franks:* and the latter at this time sailing out from Goa, after warlike preparations of great magnitude, made a descent upon Turkoy, burning and destroying the greater part of the houses and shops of that town, and also the Jamie mosque that was there. And this was on the morning of the Sabbath,† on the 14th of the month of Shawal, in the year before-named; and five days after, in the early dawn, they made a descent upon Fundreah, burning the chief part of its houses, and also four Jamie mosques of great size that had been built there. And on these occasions, in each of these towns, a third of the inhabitants received

* Maffei relates in his history, numerous descents of this nature made by his countrymen on the territories of the Zamorin. As he commonly, however, omits to mention the date of these several expeditions, it is not easy to say to which of them the above accounts allude.

† The Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday.

martyrdom. Now in the month of Jumadee the second, in the year 960, news arrived of the death of the chieftain Alee, of Room, who had fallen a martyr when fighting against the Franks before Kurkur; all the grabs that were in his company were also captured by the Franks (whom may God visit with that destruction which befel Aad and Thamood).* To God, and towards Him only, do I look in hope! such being the decree of Him who is all-gracious and all-wise! Before the death of this chieftain, however, he had seized upon certain ships belonging to the Franks, and had made a descent upon Pun-Kaeel, a village in the neighbourhood of Kaeel, where some Franks were dwelling, whom he attacked and destroyed, laying waste the place itself also. Furthermore, in the month of Rujub, in the year 960, Yoosuf, the Turk, sailed from Diu-Mahal to Funan, against the 'monsoon, carrying with him cannon of a large calibre, and of great weight of metal, which he had taken from the Franks who were dwelling in Diu.

A.D. 1552.

A.D. 1552.

* These were two ancient Arabian tribes to whom they say the Prophet Salih was sent; but having rejected him, they were overtaken by destruction.

SECTION XI.

Regarding the fifth armistice that was agreed upon between the Zamorin and the Franks.

A.D. 1555. IN consequence of the determined inveteracy manifested by the Franks, and from the increase of poverty and decay amongst the Mahomedans, the Zamorin was induced once more to consent to terms with them; after this his subjects again traded under their passes, as the commercial communities of other states then did: and this pacification took place on the first day of Mohurrum, in the year 963. And about two years (or a little more) afterwards, a quarrel took place between the Franks and the Mahomedans residing at Cannanore and Durmuftun, and in the districts in the neighbourhood of these places, which continued for nearly two years; hostilities being mutually carried on between them; after which time the matter was settled, by the Mahomedans submitting to the imposition of the commercial passes, established by the Franks, as they had done in former times. And during this warfare against the infidel Franks, Alee-Azraja, a Mahomedan leader of great consideration (upon whom may God shower down his best blessings!) greatly distinguished himself, having exerted himself with superior zeal and bravery, and lavished

his wealth without sparing in the cause ; although he was not seconded in these his efforts by the Ray of Koltree, or by the great body of the population of his dominions. In consequence of the zeal shewn by him, however, these cursed Franks (whom may God abandon to destruction !) set sail in a fleet of galliots to attack the islands of Malabar,* which belonged to Azraja, and which acknowledged his authority ; and arriving amongst them, they made a descent upon the island of Ameni,† slew a vast number of its inhabitants, and made captives of more than four hundred souls, men and women. They plundered also every thing of value that it contained, and burnt the greater part of the mosques and houses that were upon this island. And before their descent upon Ameni they had visited Shatelakum, where they

* The Laccadive Islands.

† Ameni is one of the largest of the Laccadive islands, which were discovered by Vasco de Gama in 1499. Their poverty usually protected them from invaders, as they produce no grain, but merely cocoa-nuts, plantains, and betel ; they at present are subject to the Beebee or princess of Cannanore. It is remarkable that Maffei throughout his history never alludes even to their existence : from this it seems probable that the expedition against them (above alluded to) was undertaken by private individuals, rather than by order of the king of Portugal, or his representative the viceroy of Goa.

had put to death the chief part of its inhabitants, and taken many prisoners. Now the natives of these islands are the whole of them an inoffensive race, being possessed neither of arms, nor any means of defence whatever. Notwithstanding this, a large portion of them suffered death, being victims to the barbarity of the Franks. And amongst these was a man of great virtue and piety, one who was far gone in years, and also a woman, who was his equal in goodness and piety; for although these were possessed of no means of self-defence, yet the Franks seized them, and put them to death in the most cruel manner, casting earth and stones upon them, and striking them with blows that caused ghastly wounds, persevering until death released their victims from their barbarity. May God, whose mercy is unbounded, have compassion on their souls! To return, however, these islands are many in number; but the principal ones, and those which contain cities, are only five; and these are Ameni, and Kordeeb, and Anderoo, and Kaluftee, and Mulkee; and of the smaller ones, the most inhabited are Accanee, Kunjamunjula, and Shatelakum. But God be praised who is most high! for when He would make trial of His servants, He caused the Franks to prosper; establishing them in the greater part of the sea-ports of this part of the world. For in-

stance, the ports of Malabar, and of Guzerat, and the Concan, besides others which He gave into their possession, permitting the influence of their rulers to extend over numerous countries; for in these later days they have built fortresses at Hurmoz, Muscat, Diu-Mahal, Shumtura, Mil-laeed, and in the Moluccas; and at Meelapoor, and Nagapatam, and other seaports of Solmondul, also in many harbours of Ceylon. Furthermore they have found their way to the Chinese empire, carrying on trade in all the intermediate and other ports, in all of which the commercial interests of the Mahomedans have been in consequence consigned to ruin; the traders of that religion having been at the mercy of the Franks, and, of necessity, subservient to them; the faithful, indeed, having been prevented from carrying on any trade but that for which they have neither turn nor inclination, whilst the traffic that was most congenial to their pursuits, and afforded the largest return, was interdicted them, as the Franks have rendered it impossible that any others should compete with them in it. Now the first blow that they inflicted upon the trade of the Mahomedans, was their making contraband their traffic in the articles of pepper and ginger; afterwards, they were excluded from the trade in the bark of spice trees, and in the clove jilli-flower, and the herb fennel,

and in produce of this kind, the returns and profit of which were very considerable. Lastly, they were cut off from having any commercial intercourse with the Arabian ports, and with Malacca, and Resha, and Thinasuree, and other places, so that there remained to the Mahomedans of Malabar, of their coast trade, nothing but the petty traffic in Indian-nut, cocoa-nut, and cloth; whilst their foreign voyages of trade were confined to the ports of Guzerat, the Concan, Solmondul, and the countries about Kaeel. It should be understood further, that the Franks, in building some of these forts, designed to prevent the people of Malabar dwelling about Honnore, Basilore, and Munjilore, from collecting rice in granaries, and exporting it, as was their custom from these places to Malabar generally, to Goa, and even to the Arabian ports. But the Franks (Heaven confound them!) extorting the produce from the cultivators of the lands, and extending themselves over all the quarters of the world, have vastly increased in number; having also brought under allegiance to them the governors of the different ports, so that their authority at last has become undisputed. Moreover, they have cut off all maritime trade, except that engaged in under the protection of their passes, and with the admission of their sovereignty of the sea; their own trade

thus becoming daily more extensive, and the number of their ships constantly increasing, whilst the interests of the Mussulmans have every day become more depressed. Notwithstanding all this, however, no reprisals have been made, either of their ships or forts, if we except that made by that holy warrior Sultan-Alee-Alshee (upon whom may God shower down His blessings!) when he took from them Shumturah, and made it a rallying place for Islamism (for which act may God distinguish him by a reward adequate to its merit!); also the captures by the Zamorin, who surprised the forts of the Franks at Calicut and Shaleeat; and that of the Ray of Ceylon, who captured, at different times, all the forts that the Franks had built in that island, but which, however, was eventually conquered by them, like other places.* Now the Franks, up to this period, had abstained from molesting those who were in alliance with them, and who carried their passes, committing no injury against the masters of the

* It is recorded of Don Hierome de Azevedo, who about this time held the command of Ceylon, that for the sake of a wretched pun, he would order his soldiers to hold up the shrieking infants on the tops of their pikes, and as the natives of Ceylon called themselves "*galas*," (and *gallos* is Spanish for a cock), when the poor little creatures screamed out, he would usually remark, "Hark! how these young cocks crow!"

vessels, who had not the protection of those passports to shew, except, indeed, for some special reason. From this year, however, they delivered their passes to the masters of vessels on their proceeding to sea, and if they were lost, by the vessels being wrecked by storm, or from any other disaster, they would seize the ship and its cargo, putting to death all the Mahomedans and others on board of it; and this in the most cruel manner, cutting their throats and throwing them into the sea; binding them with ropes and tying them up in nets, or in some other ligatures of the kind, and then casting them overboard. Further, in the year 970, or a little before it, they seized, in Goa, upon a large body of Mahomedan merchants who were collected there, endeavoured to force them to embrace Christianity, and continued to torment them until the greater part of them outwardly became converts; but, after a time, they made their escape out of their hands, flying with whatever portion of their property they could recover, and again returned to Islamism, thus glorifying God and their religion. But an Abyssinian woman, who refused to become a proselyte, they persecuted to such a degree that she died.

SECTION XII.

Of the occasion of hostilities being again renewed between the Zamorin and the Franks, and of the sailing out of the former with a fleet of grabs to attack them.

Now in consequence of the increase of acts such as those detailed above, on the part of these Franks, and from the decay of condition evident amongst the Mahomedans, produced by the depression of their commerce, which was now entirely cut off, parties of the inhabitants of Baduftun, Turkoz, Fundreeah, and other towns, having equipped certain small grabs, and armed themselves with weapons for defence, sailed out to sea, carrying with them no passes from the Franks, but being resolved upon resistance, and prepared for it. And they seized a great number of grabs and vessels belonging to the people of Kabkad, and the new port, and Calicut, and Funan; these all being subjects of the Zamorin. They captured also, besides these, a great number of ships and grabs belonging to different nations, taking a great many prisoners, by which means these adventurers possessed themselves of great wealth. For God willed that the star of victory and success should now rest upon them, instead of that cloud of uniform ill-success which had hitherto overshadowed them in their wars, chiefly owing to the fierce inve-

teracy of the Franks exerted against them. They made capture, moreover, of a considerable number of ships belonging to the Pagans of Guzerat, the Concan, and other ports: and, in consequence of these seizures the maritime trade of the Franks becoming greatly curtailed (as they could make no voyages now except with the greatest precaution, and without being well-convoyed, and sailing in fleets), and finding their profits in consequence diminished in proportion, they commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the property of the Mahomedans, being guilty of great oppression and tyranny, and particularly in the following instances. As the chief part of those who were the owners of the grabs were persons without the power of resistance, and possessed of but little property, and as the greater number of those vessels belonged to several and joint owners, upon the defalcation of any customs due upon the property of any of the Pagans (who shared in the ownership) they would seize upon the vessel, and upon all that it contained, although part of it should be the property of a Mahomedan: in this manner they possessed themselves of the full amount that had been expended by the latter, notwithstanding that it had been stipulated at the time of the vessel's being entered for the voyage, that the property of the Mahomedans should not (in the event of such

partial defalcation) be touched. But when they once had confiscated any property, they would never make any restitution of it to its owner, for there was no one amongst them who could compel them to this act of justice ; whilst the Ray of the town usually divided with them what they had thus iniquitously obtained. Nor was it of any avail to protest against this treatment, the Franks being a contumacious and insolent race, and but few of them entertaining any fear of God ! And about the middle of the month of Ramazan, in the year 974, the inhabitants of Funan and Fundreeah, A.D. 1566. accompanied by others, having sailed out from the former of those ports in a fleet of twelve grabs, captured a carracca belonging to the Franks which had arrived from Bengal, and which was laden with rice and sugar, being at the time of its capture in sight of Funan. Furthermore, on the sabbath, on the eighth day of Jumadee the second, in the year 976, another party of the same people, A.D. 1568. and from the same port, sailed out in a fleet of seventeen grabs (amongst this party being Kuttee-Pokur), and made capture off Shaleeat of a large carracca, which had sailed from Cochin, having on board nearly a thousand Franks, many of them approved veterans ; the vessel also being fully equipped in every respect, and containing much precious merchandize. But whilst they were en-

gaging the carracca she took fire and was burnt ;* not however before the Mahomedans had saved some of her largest guns. And there fell in this action more than one hundred of their fighting men, and persons of rank, besides servants and inferiors ; whilst those who escaped the sword perished in other ways, some being drowned, and others falling victims to the flames. Now praised be God for all this ! And some time after this success, these townsmen sailing out in the direction of Kaeel, took twenty-two vessels belonging to the Franks and their allies, which were laden with rice, which they had partly seized upon in Kaeel and in its neighbourhood, and partly had brought from Coromandel and other parts. And besides the rice on board of these vessels there were three small elephants, which they carried into Funan, and disembarked in the river there. And in the latter part of Jumadee the second, in the year 978, the individual named Kuttee-Pokur before-mentioned, having sailed at

* Faria-y-Sousa mentions that the ship of Don Joan de Castro (the son of the famous viceroy of that name) was attacked by two Malabar prows, and whilst engaging them, blew up. This however was some years after, and therefore could not be the ship here alluded to by the Sheikh, of which capture no mention is to be found in any Portuguese historian.

night into the river which runs near Munjiloor, with six grabs, succeeded in firing the greater part of the fortifications belonging to the Franks there; taking also a small galliot of theirs; and he made good his passage without the loss of a single vessel. But when within sight of Cannanore, he fell in with a fleet of nearly fifty galliots belonging to the Franks, and engaging them, he received martyrdom (surely the unbounded mercy of God has embraced him!). Neither did any thing that was in his company escape, not even a single grab. Now this was a man of approved zeal and determined courage in this holy warfare against the Franks (whom may God confound!). Shortly afterwards, that great warrior Alee Azraja, the chief of Cannanore (upon whom may God shower down all blessings!), beholding the inveteracy and persecution, which was bringing ruin and the last poverty upon the Mahomedans by putting an entire stop to their commerce, and that all this proceeded from these cursed Franks, despatched an envoy to that great sultan and most beneficent monarch Alee-Aadil-Shah (whom may God ever defend and prosper!), complaining to him of what the Mahomedans of Malabar were suffering from the oppression and tyrannical treatment of the Franks, and begging his aid for their delivery from the evils that affected them; calling upon him also

in the name of the All-merciful, to take up arms against these infidels. Further to promote his suit also, he sent presents to that monarch ; whose heart God most high having awakened, he prepared an expedition against the fort at Goa, which was now the seat of the government of the Franks, but which had formerly been subject to Jeddah, that city of high dignity. It should be observed moreover, that a treaty had been entered into between Aadil-Shah and Nizam-Shah (upon both of whom may God shower down his blessings!) after the capture and destruction of Beejanuggur and the death of its Ray ; wherein they agreed to attack with their combined forces both Goa and Sheiool. And after the despatches of Azraja had reached Aadil-Shah, he, with his court and army, set out and halted above Goa, beginning to harass the Franks, and to intercept their supplies.* At this time also, Aadil-Shah sent a messenger to the Zamorin with his royal credentials, informing him of his having commenced his attack upon

* Ferishta erroneously states A.D. 1568 as the year in which Aadil-Shah made this attempt to recover Goa, the Portuguese accounts which made it a year later, agreeing with our author. He descended the Poonda Ghaut, his force, according to Fariay-Sousa, amounting to 100,000 foot, 35,000 horse, 2,140 elephants, and 350 pieces of cannon ; whilst the Portuguese had only, to oppose them, 1,600 men and thirty pieces of cannon.

Goa, and calling upon him for his co-operation, in prohibiting all provisions from being carried from his dominions to that place. Now the Zamorin and his subjects, as has been shewn, had been carrying on hostilities against the Franks for many years, when this envoy of Aadil-Shah arrived; the former being indeed at that very time at Shaleeat, employed in concerting plans to attack them. Further, Nizam-Shah* with his troops and followers at this time proceeded against Sheiool,† the fortifications of which place he had begun to batter with cannon of heavy metal; and the capture of the place would have been very practicable had it not been for some delay, and the distrust which was entertained by Nizam-Shah towards Aadil-Shah. This failure also, in part, arose from that chief's having overrated the power of the Franks, all which induced him to raise the siege, and to make peace with them.‡ In this unsuccessful

* Murtuza Nizam Shah, who according to Ferishta was commonly called دیوانہ or "the Mad." He was put to death by his son, under circumstances of great cruelty, A.D. 1586.

† This is the "Ciaulum urbs" of Maffei, or "Choul" as it now called.

‡ This is the unsuccessful attempt of Murtuza Nizam Shah against Revadunda, a Portuguese settlement near Choul, mentioned by Ferishta as having taken place in this year. That historian describes the failure of Nizam Shah to the treachery

attempt Aadil-Shah should be exempted from all blame; for Goa was at a long distance from the troops who were besieging Sheiool, whilst the river running between them prevented his joining them. Moreover the former fortress was an elevated one, and its defences were very extensive, so that no power could have prevailed against it unless it had been assisted by succour from on High. Besides this also, the ministers of Aadil-Shah tampered with the Franks, designing to surrender him up to them, and to bestow the sovereignty of Bejapoor upon one of his relations,* who was with

of some of his officers, who were bribed by presents from the Portuguese (chiefly of wine he tells us) to permit the passage into the fort of some provisions. According to Faria-y-Sousa, the force of Nizam Shah amounted to 8,000 horse and 20,000 foot. During the unsuccessful assault of that chief, 200 Portuguese deserted from the fort over to him.

* Ferishta makes no mention of, nor even alludes to, this intended piece of treachery, merely stating that Aadil-Shah was obliged to retire after having suffered a great loss and effected nothing; nor has the translator been able to find any admission of it in the history of Maffei. Faria-y-Sousa however confirms the Sheikh's account, informing us that Louis de Ataide made overtures to Noor Khan (a Bejapoor general) to assassinate Alee-Aadil-Shah, on promise of his being supported by the Portuguese in ascending the throne. The treachery however was discovered and prevented; Alee-Aadil-Shah raised the siege after being ten months engaged in it and losing

them in Goa. But that monarch made a timely discovery of the conspiracy; and alive to his danger, he privately withdrew himself from his troops; and when he had reached a place of security, he sent for them (his ministers), and having got them into his power, he brought them to punishment, degrading them from their dignities. Further, Aadil-Shah at this time made a truce with the Franks, chiefly in consequence of certain urgent causes that made it necessary for him to do so;* and which the Franks discovering, hastened to fortify Goa with lofty and extensive defences, so that no entrance in that place could be practicable, unless God, all-merciful and all-wise, should ordain it otherwise. It should not be forgotten also that Aadil-Shah was as well the victim of treachery as Nizam-Shah; the ministers of both having been bought over by the Franks (those enemies of the faith!), and having conveyed to them supplies, and generally succoured them. May God reward them with a retribution commensurate to their deeds!

12,000 men, what by the sallies of the garrison and the exposure of his army.

* Most probably the desire which possessed him at this time of attempting the capture of Adoni, a hill fortress of great strength, and which, after a long and close siege, was ultimately taken by his general Ankoos Khan.

SECTION XIII.

Relating the siege of the fort of Shaleeat, and its capture.

THE Zamorin having now in some measure recruited his resources, resolved on making an attempt upon the fort of Shaleeat,* being urged to this by the harassing attacks against him persisted in by the Franks, whilst the Mahomedans also were instrumental in exciting him to this act of retaliation. From their exhortations to it, indeed, at the time of the expedition against Goa, he had been chiefly induced to undertake it; and since that time, had only waited for an opportunity, it not being then practicable for the Mahomedans to despatch to him the vessels and

* This Portuguese fort or factory is called Jalleat by Ferishta, whilst Maffei styles it "Ciales" and Faria-y-Sousa "Chale." That Maffei should give no account of its capture is extraordinary, for when describing its site, as must have been already observed, he says: "Is locus ultra Calecutum duas leucas apprime navigabili æstuario impositus, mire factus erat ad Arabum infestanda commercia et Zamorini consilia exploranda, conatusque opprimendos." Lib. xi. page 208. Faria-y-Sousa states the force of the Zamorin on this occasion at 100,000 men. Had not Ataide (the viceroy) been at this moment superseded by Norone, the fate of Chale, that writer thinks, would have been different.

grabs, which were necessary for the execution of his design. He now, however, sent against this fortress certain of his ministers in command over the Mahomedan inhabitants of Funan, who were assisted by bodies of the people of the town of Shaleeat, and who, during their advance, persuaded the people of Pumoor, Tanoor, and Purpoorangar to join them. The Mahomedans entering Shaleeat on the night of the 14th or 15th day of the month of Sufur, in the year 979, a battle took place between them and the Franks, at the break of the following day, during which the Mahomedans burnt the houses belonging to the Franks that were without the fort, and their churches also, demolishing at the same time their outer works of mud. Of the Mahomedans three only found martyrdom in this affair, whilst a large body of the Franks were slain, who, after this, retreated to their citadel of stone, and took refuge in it; but the Mahomedans, with the Nair troops of the Zamorin, surrounded it (whilst the faithful from all the countries around hastened to engage in this holy warfare), and throwing up trenches around it, blockaded it with the greatest vigilance, so that no provisions could reach the besieged excepting by chance. In carrying on this siege, the Zamorin expended a vast sum of money; about two months after its commence-

A.D. 1571.

ment, he himself came from Funan to conduct it; and with such extreme vigour and activity did he pursue his measures, intercepting all supplies, that the stock of provisions of the Franks became entirely exhausted, and they were compelled to devour dogs, and to feed on animals of a similar vile impure nature.* In consequence of this scarcity, there came out of the Fort, every day, large bodies of their servants and proselytes, both male and female, who were not molested by the besiegers, but had a safe passage granted to them. Now, although the Franks sent supplies to their countrymen shut up in Shaleeat from Cochin and Cannanore, yet these never reached them, their convoys having been attacked and destroyed. During the blockade, the besieged sent messengers to the Zamorin, offering to capitulate and deliver up to him certain large pieces of cannon which were in the Fort, and also to indemnify him for the expences of the war, besides some other concessions. But he refused to consent to

* The Zamorin proposed terms to Ataide at this time, but that brave commander answered him that he would make no peace, but upon such terms as the Zamorin might expect, were the Portuguese in the most flourishing condition. He had succeeded in concluding a highly honourable peace with Nizam Shah shortly before this period.

these terms, although his ministers were satisfied with them. Shortly after, when the Franks perceived their condition desperate, from the failure of their provisions, and that they could make no easier terms, they sent messengers to the Zamorin, offering to deliver up the Fort, with its arsenal, and all its cannon, provided that a safe passage was afforded them, and protection for their personal property guaranteed ; and he consenting to these terms, the garrison marched out at midnight on the 10th of Jumadee-Alakhur, safe egress being afforded them ; they shortly afterwards were sent away (greatly dispirited) with the Ray of Tanoor, who had leagued with and abetted them, being, indeed, secretly favourable to their cause, although ostensibly supporting the Zamorin ; and this chief having provided them with all necessities, conducted them to the Tanoor country, whence galliots sent from Cochin conveyed them to that city, where they arrived in safety, but much disheartened and cast down. Now all that here befell them was in retribution for their evil deeds. Shortly after, the Zamorin having taken possession of the ordnance and stores contained in this fort, demolished it entirely, leaving not one stone upon another. And he made the site where it had stood a barren waste, transporting to Calicut the greater part of the stones

and masonry of which the fortifications had been composed, whilst he gave the remaining portion of it to be appropriated to the rebuilding of the ancient Jamie mosque, which the Franks had demolished for material to build their fort ; and the ground on which the fort had stood, and that lay around it, the Zamorin awarded to the Ray of Shaleeat, according to a stipulation which had been agreed upon at the beginning of the war. Not long after the capture of this fort, and when the Zamorin had already possessed himself of its ordnance and stores, a relief for the garrison arrived from Goa, on board of some galliots and other vessels ; but discovering what had happened, they returned in great haste, much astonished and grieved. This, by the permission of God most High, and through His gracious aid. For in all that here happened, was the mercy and gracious favour of the Lord towards us and all Mahomedans clearly manifested !

SECTION XIV.

Regarding the affairs of the Franks after the capture of their Fort of Shaleeat.

Know, then, that these accursed Franks, in consequence of the capture of their Fort at Shaleeat, entertained tenfold rage and hatred towards

the Zamorin and the Mahomedans, looking eagerly for an opportunity to carry desolation into the territories of the former, and to rebuild their fortifications at Funan and Shaleeat, so that they might again be enabled to harass and annoy the Zamorin and his Mahomedan allies, in retaliation for their having taken their fort at the latter place.* But up to the close of the year 987 (by the divine permission) they had attempted in vain the accomplishment of their designs; having in this interval, however, made a descent upon Shaleeat, and burnt some of the houses and shops of that place, which happened on the 22d of the month of Shawal, in the year 980 : and in the year following, they landed at Purpoorangar, on which occasion four Mahomedans suffered martyrdom, whilst a larger number of the Franks were slain. From these attacks on their part, it appeared very evident that these people had no inclination to make peace with the Zamorin ; and particularly after the capture of their fortress of Shaleeat, that event having irritated them beyond measure, both

A.D. 1579.

A.D. 1572.

* About this time it was that Sebastian (who had ascended the throne of Portugal) divided his eastern empire into three governments independent of each other. The consequence was a train of perplexities that distracted the Portuguese more than all the previous attacks of their enemies in India.

against that chief and the Mahomedans, and caused them eagerly to desire the destruction of both. Subsequently, in the year 985, they made a seizure of nearly fifty grabs of different sizes, belonging to the Mahomedans, which at the time of their capture were upon their return voyage from Tulnad, where they had been to load with rice. Now, many of those who were on board these vessels received martyrdom; indeed, of Mahomedans and of the crews of the vessels, nearly 3,000 men were slain, whilst the trade of the former by this blow became almost annihilated; a calamity which was permitted to visit them, out of the inscrutable designs of the All-gracious and All-wise, of which we can obtain no knowledge, save that a glorious reward shall await those who have fallen fighting for God, and who have practised purity and forbearance. Further, we have hopes that the Lord (whose name be praised!) will bestow upon these everlasting happiness, and comfort them by granting them His heavenly consolation. Verily, God most High has said, "After torment comes ease."* "For every evil has its good,

* Koran, Soorah entitled *الانشراح* or the 94th chapter, which consists only of four or five verses, in which Mahomed, according to Al-Beidavi, alludes to the cleansing from the black drop of sin which he received from the hands of Gabriel in his youth.

“and every suffering its benefit.” And in the early part of the year above mentioned, the Franks (may God confound them!) seized upon a large number of grabs belonging to Guzerat, that were proceeding from the port of Surat to the fortified harbour of Jeddah, at the time of their capture being on their return voyage. Of these vessels, some belonged to that glorious monarch, Sultan Jelal-ud-deen, son of Akbur Padshah (whom may God defend!), and contained treasure to a great amount; in consequence of which piratical act, hostilities commenced between that Sultan and the Franks.* Now, should not these last have restored this property, (confusion to them!) if only for the sake of peace? Nevertheless, we have hope in God (whose name be praised!) that He will vouchsafe his divine aid to the great Sultan Jelal-ud-

* This is the Sheikh's account of the matter ; but that of the Portuguese historians appears a more probable one. They say, that the Mogul having now possessed himself of the throne of Cambaya (or Guzerat), was anxious to recover from the Portuguese the towns of Bacdim and Daman, which had both formerly belonged to that kingdom. With this design, he had made his preparations for investing the latter place, when Noronha (the Portuguese viceroy) entered the river there with so formidable a fleet, that the Mogul was glad to make peace ; confirming by it the Portuguese right of possession, on condition of their alliance.

deen; and that he will succour him with His Almighty power, and favour him in his warfare with this people, and in his endeavours to expel them from his forts of Diu, Guzerat, Doot, Wasee, and from his kingdom generally; for then shall they be expelled from all the maritime towns which they have brought under subjection to them, if the Almighty God, who is omnipotent and all-powerful, shall of His grace so permit it. And shortly after the above related occurrence, certain masters of grabs having sailed into the river which flows into the harbour of Adilabad, and the Franks having formed a design of possessing themselves of these vessels, entered the harbour, and bore down upon them; but perceiving that they could not approach near enough to effect the capture of the grabs above alluded to, they fired the whole of the harbour, and burnt the grabs and other vessels that were within their reach, although some of these had with them their passes and covenants, and belonged to Durmuftun and Cannanore, and to other ports. Further, they fired the port of Karaftan; but attempting the same against the port of Dabool, the Naib of that place * (may God protect it!), having by stratagem made prisoners

* This person (according to Ferishta) was Khoajeh-Alee-Sheerazee-Zamorin

of their chief men and warriors, put to death the greater part of them, and sent off the rest to Aadil-Shah. And about this time Aadil-Shah* (whom may God protect!) despatched certain of his ministers and troops to form a chain of communication round Goa, and to prevent the people of the neighbouring provinces from conveying to them any provisions. He despatched also a messenger with letters and presents to Azraja and the Zamorin, and to Kolturee, calling upon them for their assistance in this attack and blockade against Goa. But when his envoy with his suite and presents had arrived at Koto-Kulum, the Ray of that place seized and imprisoned both him and his followers. Now, this man was the third in the line of succession to the Kolturee, and was the person who would succeed to the sovereignty after the death of that Prince, being his immediate heir. And he acted in this way at the instigation of the Franks. But the envoy of Aadil-Shah managing secretly to effect his escape, the Ray before named seized upon all that he had with him, with

* “ Per eosdem fere menses, quibus hæc ad Malacam agerantur, Idalacan absentiam Albuquerqueii suam occasionem ratus, ad Goam recuperandam Narsingano bello distentus ipse strenuos duces minime contemnendo cum exercitu miserat. —Maff. Hist., lib. v. p. 94.

the presents that had been confided to him. Upon hearing which, Azraja and Kolturee despatched letters to him demanding the surrender of this property, but without avail; for had not the bearer of these letters made his escape, he would have been seized, and delivered over to the Franks.

A. D. 1578. This happened in the year 986, in which year certain great men of the Franks presented themselves before the Zamorin, for the purpose of treating with him for peace. This chief was at that time at a Pagoda, sacred amongst all the Pagans of Malabar, situated in the neighbourhood of Cranganore; and he consented that the Franks should build a fort at Calicut; but they being desirous of constructing it at Funan, the Zamorin would not agree, so that the attempt at an accommodation at this time failed. However, the Zamorin sent back with the Franks who had come from Goa, three of his subjects who were in his confidence, for the purpose of conferring upon the terms of a pacification; and these entering Goa, were met by the viceroy of that place (who was termed the Bezroo), who received them with extreme courtesy and respect, treating them with all attention. But after much time had been lost, these commissioners returned to the Zamorin, the conference having been broken off in consequence of the Franks persisting in their demand to

build their fortifications at Funan; and this the second unsuccessful attempt at an accommodation took place in the year 987: shortly after which, however, a treaty was entered into between Aadil-Shah and the Franks, they paying to him a certain sum of money.* But about this time the Ray of Cochin made preparations to attack the Zamorin, in order to expel him from the pagoda above-mentioned; and for this purpose he collected a vast body of men, and sent a messenger to the viceroy of the Franks (the Bezroo), begging his assistance against the Zamorin. Now, this chieftain had but few in numbers, but nevertheless by divine succour he defeated his enemies, repulsing both the Franks and the Ray of Cochin, and slaying a great number of their troops, whilst he with his allies suffered but little, notwithstanding the disadvantage of their number. Exasperated by this defeat, the galliots of the Franks sailed out from Cochin for the purpose of harassing the trade of the Mahomedans; and they soon captured a great number of their vessels and grabs (may God confound them!), possessing themselves also of booty to a great value: and in the seasons of the year 990 and 991 A.D. 1582-83.

* The terms of the peace were simply an alliance offensive and defensive (if the Portuguese historian may be credited), without any payment or cession of territory on either side.

also, they carried on their hostilities with great rancour against the subjects and dependents of the Zamorin; the people of Calicut, of the New Harbour, and of Kabkat, and Fundreeah, and Turkoy, and Funan, making attacks upon them at all times and seasons from the beginning of the year to the end of it; so that the maritime trade of these towns was entirely destroyed, and even intercourse between neighbouring ports completely cut off. Moreover, the importation of rice from Tulnad was greatly hindered, so that a great famine, such as never before had taken place, was the consequence, the common people of the ports above-named being deprived of all means of subsistence; and although they had done nothing to call down such a visitation, the Franks continued to seize upon their vessels and grabs,* until their miseries were at their height (may God drive out from amongst us this tyrannical race, and save us from them!). However, towards the end of the season of the latter year, a treaty was entered into between

* It was usual at this time for fleets to be annually sent out to cruize off the Malabar coast, on the pretence of suppressing piracy, but which were themselves occupied solely in piratical attacks. Not many years after, a "bull of Croisade" was sent out from Europe, which directed the Portuguese to reduce the infidels by force of arms and the faith, or in other words, to make no scruple of plundering pagodas and sacking mosques.

the Zamorin and the Franks, whereby the latter were permitted to build their fort at Funan ; which accommodation was followed by a general exchange of prisoners, the Mahomedans delivering over to the rulers of the Franks their captives of that nation, and the Franks delivering over to the Zamorin those of his subjects that they had taken, and also receiving from that chieftain the prisoners that he had made. Further, the Franks delivered up to the Zamorin the Mahomedan captures that they had made, but these last were but few ; and there was an agreement entered into between the Franks and the Zamorin regarding the building of the fort before mentioned, which was to be commenced when the viceroy of that nation should come to visit the Zamorin in the following year. In the first season after this, four ships arrived from Europe, on board of one of which was the new viceroy of the Franks, who had been appointed by their Emperor.* Of these vessels, two anchored at Goa, whilst two remained at

* This was Don Francis Mascarena, or according to Maffei, " Petrus Mascarenas Indiæ Prætor, xviii." Of this Viceroy, that historian gives the following high character : " Vir bello fortis et natura munificus, atque ob id ipsum apud omnes ordinis graciosus."—Lib. ix. p. 169.